

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

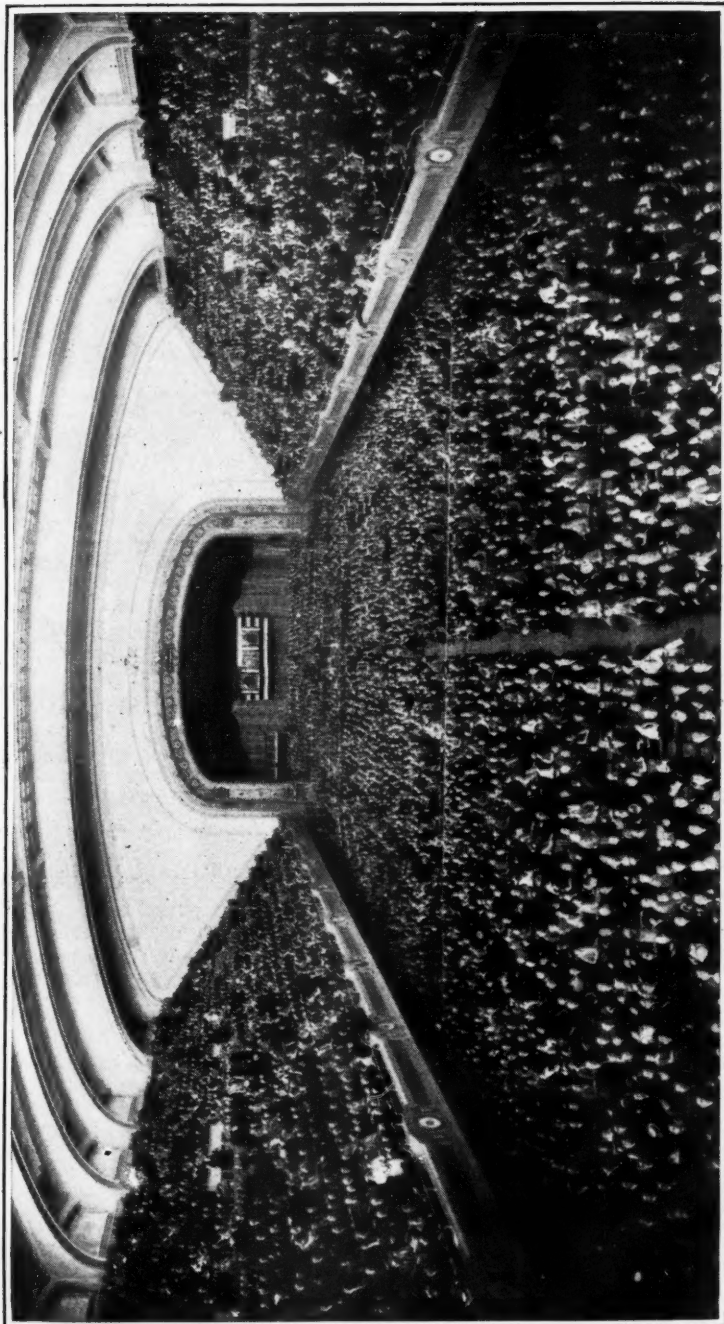
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**THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN SESSION IN THE NEW PUBLIC AUDITORIUM AT CLEVELAND, OHIO**

(The quadrennial political conventions are the most impressive as well as important gatherings of American citizens. They bring men of capacity for leadership to the attention of the country as a whole, and help to unify sentiment regarding public matters throughout the land)

# THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

### *Republican Harmony at Cleveland*

So pervasive are the agencies of intelligence that by noon of the following day the entire country had mentally digested the proceedings and results of the Cleveland Convention that ended late in the evening of June 12, after three days of orderly official intercourse. The newspaper reports were adequate, while millions of people were invisible auditors by virtue of radio broadcasting. No real effort was made in the convention to diminish the prestige of Mr. Coolidge's prearranged nomination. The platform, while not ambiguous, adopted circumlocutions to avoid friction. The presence of a large number of women as members of the convention contributed something to the decorum as well as much to the picturesqueness of the great gathering. The national conventions are a feature of America's political and social life that have a distinct value.

### *From the Opposition Standpoint*

Naturally enough, the Democrats and the Farmer-Labor leaders were keen observers of all that was said and done at Cleveland. It was admitted that the completion of the ticket by the choice of Charles G. Dawes of Chicago for Vice-President was a suitable and a strong move. But it was also noted that the Republican ticket and platform were wholly conservative, emphasizing the attitude of Bankers' Associations and Chambers of Commerce rather than that of agriculture or of labor. The results at Cleveland were regarded by the McAdoo forces as improving their prospects in the New York Democratic convention, while the selection of General Dawes instead of Judge Kenyon was hailed by the Third-

Party radicals as vindicating their position and as blazing their paths not only in Wisconsin, the Dakotas and Montana, but also in Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, and elsewhere. Ex-Governor Lowden—farmer-statesman—was the convention's first choice for Vice-President and was actually nominated; but he persisted in adhering to his previous declaration that he could not and would not accept. Senator Borah's insistent advance declination was all that prevented his choice. At the last moment, the selection lay between General Dawes and Judge Kenyon (once head of the Farm Bloc), with the majority of the New York delegation opposing Kenyon as too radical.

### *Strength of Dawes Admitted*

General Dawes is quite as sincerely devoted to the welfare of all classes of his fellow citizens as if he were a member of the bricklayers union or a working Nebraska farmer. His recent services as head of the Dawes Commission on reparations has given him a high place in the estimation of Europe as well as of America. He was General Pershing's efficient business manager during the war period in France. His strenuous year as Director of the Budget at Washington secured one of the chief triumphs of the present Republican regime. During the McKinley Administration, he was Controller of the Currency. No one could fairly deny the personal excellence of the Coolidge-Dawes ticket. It makes no fanatical party appeal. Mr. Coolidge's qualities and methods are now well known, as set forth in the article contributed to our present number by Mr. Welliver. Mr. Dawes has a bold and unconventional way of saying what he thinks, with a background

of valuable experience in public and private life and some of Mr. McAdoo's qualities of courage, decisiveness in emergencies, and ability to see things in their large aspects. As these remarks reach our readers, the Democratic convention (opening June 24) will be absorbing the eager attention of all who are politically minded. It will be admitted that the Republicans have strengthened their position by virtue of their work at Cleveland; and the earlier notion that the Democrats would have a walk-over this year is no longer a safe wager.

*Parties, and  
the Business  
of Governing*

There is no great country in which the course of party government has run smoothly during the past year. The Labor party maintains itself in England because the Liberal party prefers to keep the Tories out. Prime Minister MacDonald must therefore trim his sails to the breezes that blow from the Asquith-Lloyd George direction. Meanwhile his moderation offends the more extreme socialists of the Labor party, and he does not find it easy to keep his own forces together. In France and Germany, the machinery of parliamentary government has been working with great difficulty because of the necessity of securing majorities through the combined action of parties and groups that may tend towards the Left or towards the Right, but that in many respects are discordant as well as distinct. Italy alone is governed to-day through a party that has a clear majority over all its combined opponents. But this is due to the extraordinary new election law which arbitrarily assigns a clear majority of parliamentary seats to the party or bloc that stands at the top of the list. It was known in advance that Mussolini's Fascisti party would be stronger than any other single group, and the election law was so shaped as to perpetuate Mussolini's control. But this is an arrangement so unusual that it can hardly be deemed permanent. It was invented by a revolutionary government, to give the appearance of legality to its continued control after a regular election.

*Our Own  
Two-Party  
System*

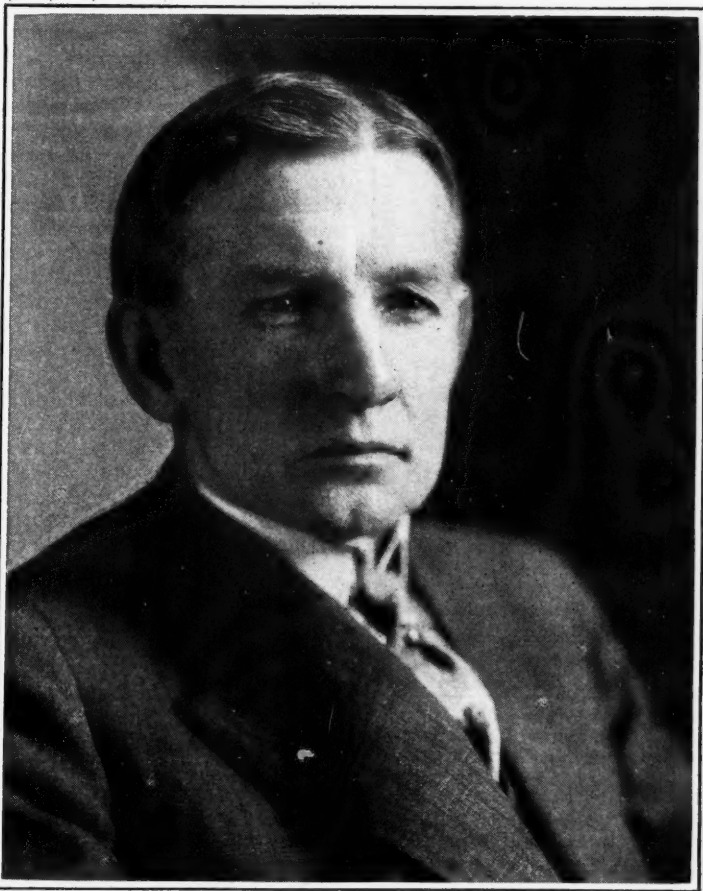
In the United States, the two major parties have for a long time been rival organizations that have been held together quite as much by legalized political machinery of an elaborate character as by opposed convictions about public affairs or by mutual antago-

nism. The Republican party has been more homogeneous than the Democratic. Historically the Republicans have been strongly identified with the western movement, and with the development of the country upon nationalistic lines and principles. Loyalty to the traditions of the Republican party as they have come down through families has had much to do with the maintenance of Republicanism. This sentiment has nothing to do with the machinery of the party, which is operated by politicians and which constitutes its official organization. There is also a somewhat similar tradition of Democracy that holds many minds through a persistent predilection for one side or the other in earlier controversies—a continuing sentiment that gives us Jeffersonian Democrats and Jacksonian Democrats, this feeling having something to do with the present-day party loyalties of many people who know little and care less about the actual controversies of the first half-century of a Republic that has been making political history for almost three such half-centuries.

*Democratic  
Party  
Groupings*

Apart from these rather thin and meaningless traditions, which orators try to distinguish as something substantial in the way of a political creed, the Democratic party has now for more than half a century in its practical operations been a coalition of four principal opposition elements, not to mention some minor ones. Chief of the four elements has been the Solid South, which was rendered solid by virtue of the Fifteenth Amendment that enfranchised millions of untrained negroes immediately after the abolition of slavery. In earlier periods, these Southern people had been Whigs as well as Democrats, and they were no more sectionally Jeffersonian than was the North. It was a practical situation, following the Civil War, that made the States of the recent Confederacy feel the need of acting together in national matters; and since they could not support the party that had enfranchised the negroes, they were obliged to adopt the Democratic party with a view to dominating it in so far as their own sectional necessities were concerned. The most strictly local of the Democratic factors was Tammany Hall, an organization that for its own purposes secured control of the Democratic machine in New York City, and which gradually acquired command of the Democratic party of the Empire State.





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**CHARLES GATES DAWES, REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR THE  
VICE-PRESIDENCY**

(Mr. Dawes was born in Marietta, Ohio, August 27, 1865, son of a Civil War General, and graduated from Marietta College and the Cincinnati Law School. After practising law for seven years at Lincoln, Nebraska, he turned to business and politics, with Chicago as headquarters, and was a McKinley leader in the campaign of 1896. For five years he was Controller of the Currency at Washington, then becoming president of the Central Trust Company of Illinois, at Chicago. Joining the army in the Great War, he was promoted to be Brigadier-General and was head of the American Army purchasing board in France. President Harding made him first Director of the Federal Budget system; and recently, at the suggestion of our Government, the Allies made him head of the Expert Commission on German finances and Reparations. He has written books on finance, and has published his "Journal of the Great War." His home is at Evanston, a Chicago suburb)

*Right and  
Left Wings  
of the Party*

With the unit rule in conventions, and with the adoption of the general ticket plan in choosing presidential electors, New York as the most populous State in the Union had become pivotal to a powerful extent in national politics. Tammany had no convictions of any kind regarding questions having to do with statesmanship, but it had its own ends to gain through holding an influential place in the Democratic

party of the nation. Another element in the Democratic party had grown influential through conscientious opposition to certain economic doctrines and tendencies of the Republican party. This element had become conservative in many ways, was highly intelligent, and thoroughly public-spirited. It was represented in public life by such great leaders as Samuel J. Tilden, Grover Cleveland, Mr. Olney of Massachusetts, Mr. Bayard of Delaware,



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HON. W. J. BRYAN, A FAMOUS DEMOCRAT WHO VISITED THE REPUBLICANS AT CLEVELAND BEFORE COMING TO NEW YORK AS A DEMOCRATIC DELEGATE FROM FLORIDA

and many others, mostly East of the Mississippi River. With the western settlement of the country, there had always been more or less prevalent, certain frontier views about banking and money that have a tendency to flourish in regions that are growing fast and are short of capital, and that are thus in debt to older parts of the country. Thus there arose after the Civil War the so-called heresy of Greenbackism, later that of Populism and that of the Silver Standard. All parties in the West were more or less infected from time to time with the cheap money heresies; but in due time the Democrats of the West and Southwest came more completely under the spell, while the Republican party became more orthodox in its monetary and financial views.

*Truly  
National  
Candidates*

Thus the Western radicals captured the Democratic convention of 1896 and chose William J. Bryan as the leader and standard bearer. For a good many years this

radical element held the leading place among the groups that were joined to make up the Democratic party as a whole. In due time the gold standard triumphed, and the Federal Reserve System was evolved as the cornerstone of a new banking and monetary system. In the present situation, the Democratic cleavages are far less noticeable than they have been in former presidential years. Thus the movement for Mr. McAdoo, though Western and Southern rather than Eastern, may be considered as more widely national upon the whole than that which is behind any other presidential candidate of any party. President Coolidge's support is, of course, unanimous within the orthodox Republican ranks; but throughout a great part of the South there is no active party that votes the Republican ticket. Mr. McAdoo, on the other hand, has support all the way from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

*Democrats  
Better  
Unified*

Furthermore, the candidacy of Governor Smith of New York has greatly outgrown any Tammany origins that it might have had. It is strongly espoused by many leaders of the old-time orthodox Eastern Democracy of the Cleveland stamp. It has acquired respect also in other parts of the country. Possible compromise candidates like Senators Underwood of Alabama and Ralston of Indiana, Mr. Davis of West Virginia and New York, Senator Glass of Virginia, and Mr. Cox of Ohio, are all of them regarded as men of presidential size who are esteemed by Democrats of all parts of the country and who can not be regarded as merely sectional favorites, much less as chiefly preferred by one or another of the four major groups to which we have referred. Thus the Democratic party comes forward this year apparently a better unified national organization than at almost any time in its history for half a century. This will be obvious enough when it is remembered how strongly Grover Cleveland was opposed both by the Tammany machine of his own State and also by the Western radicals. And similarly, it will be remembered, Mr. Bryan's choice as presidential candidate by three national conventions, namely, those of 1896, 1900, and 1908, was bitterly opposed by the Eastern conservatives and some other elements.

*Some Points  
of  
Difference*

The Wilson leadership accomplished a good deal towards amalgamating the Democracy into a really national party; and an eager desire this year to get back into power is obscuring party factionalism to a remarkable degree. The Prohibition question and the Ku Klux Klan issue seem to be the principal stumbling blocks so far as the appearance of Democratic harmony is concerned. Mr. McAdoo is with the "drys" without apology, and Governor Smith, though not eager to be recognized as the avowed champion of the "wets," would modify the Volstead act. Governor Smith, like Senator Underwood, is in sharp antagonism to the principles as well as the practices of the Ku Klux Klan, while Mr. McAdoo seems not to be concerned one way or the other about the religious and racial opinions and preferences of particular societies or organizations. Every candidate, of course, would take the ground that no sect or society should menace individual freedom or take the law into its own hands. The Democrats do not wholly agree about foreign policies, but would favor the World Court. They are opposed to the Mellon ideas of taxation reform.

*Congress Adjourned Until  
December*

The adjournment of Congress on June 7, just three days before the opening of the Republican National Convention at Cleveland, was in most respects a fortunate thing. A presidential campaign deserves undivided attention in so far as public issues are concerned. With the long session of Congress ended, the record at Washington quite properly forms a part of the case that goes before the country for the verdict at the polls in November. It has been one of the stormiest seasons that the political atmosphere of Washington has known in many years. When President Harding set out upon his long and fateful speech-making tour, on June 20 of 1923—just twelve months ago—the Republican party seemed to be not only capable and efficient in its exercise of power, but also reasonably harmonious. It had carried the election of 1920 by majorities so vast and decisive as to leave no question about the country's sentiments. Some of President Harding's appointments were not liked by people of fastidious tastes and critical judgments, but even in those cases the Senate was ready to confirm, and every body was inclined to hope



HON. ANDREW D. MELLON, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY (SITTING)

(Although Mr. Mellon's tax-reform measure was hopelessly rejected by Congress, as was his position on the bonus, he received a greater ovation at Cleveland than any other Cabinet member or delegate, showing how strongly the national party sentiment supports the Coolidge Administration policies. At the right, standing, is Sec'y Mellon's brother, William L. Mellon, of Pittsburgh. Photographed at Cleveland)

for the best. No president has ever been more generously treated and none has ever been made more conscious of the pervasive kindness and good will of his fellow citizens, regardless of party, than Warren G. Harding.

*Administration  
Prestige Under  
Mr Harding*

The President had entered upon his great "swing around the circle," which was to take him as far as Alaska to the northward and the Panama Canal Zone to the southward, while the Porto Ricans were preparing to give him their most loyal welcome and New York City had planned for an enthusiastic reception on his return to continental America. His prepared addresses and shorter speeches were arranged to cover all the larger questions of national concern. His Cabinet was a unit in supporting him and in looking forward to his nomination for another term in the

convention of 1924. This personal loyalty to the President was as true of Mr. Hoover, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Mellon as it was of Mr. Weeks, Mr. Denby, Mr. New and Mr. Daugherty. It should be borne in mind that Mr. Will Hays had retired from the Cabinet in March, 1922, and that Mr. Fall had left the Interior Department in March, 1923. Mr. Work had been promoted to be Postmaster General, succeeding Mr. Hays, and had later been transferred to the Interior Department to take Mr. Fall's place, while Senator New, at the end of his Senatorial term, had succeeded Dr. Work as Postmaster General. Mr. Harding had coöperated with Secretary Hughes in the Naval Disarmament Conference and in all other foreign policies. He had worked steadfastly with Mr. Mellon in promoting what was regarded as sound non-partisan fiscal measures. He had given General Dawes full support in putting the new budget system into effect. He had worked with Secretary Wallace in the endeavor to promote the well-being of the farmers. To sum it up, he was much stronger in the approval of the country and the admiration of the world at the time of his death than when nominated three years before.

*Mr. Harding  
Supported by  
67th Congress*

The Vice-President, Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, succeeded to the presidency without doing anything to affect the general situation as regards parties and the outlook for the future. He invited all of the members of the Harding Cabinet to remain, and he was in no haste to bring about any changes, whether of policies or of personnel. Congress was not in session when President Harding died, the Sixty-seventh Congress having ended its term on the fourth of March, 1923. Mr. Coolidge did not call the new Congress in extra session, but waited for the opening of the regular session on the first Monday of last December. Mr. Harding had been dealing with large and well-assured Republican majorities in the Congress that was elected with him in November, 1920. But the Congressional elections of 1922 had resulted in large Democratic gains and also in very decided gains for the Western radicals, who, whether they called themselves Republicans or Farmer-Laborites, were actually in opposition to the established Republican situation. Those who wonder how so great a change had come about in the relations between the

White House and the Capitol must not forget the difference between the results of the Congressional elections of 1920 and those of 1922. Mr. Harding had been dealing with a Congress that was controlled by his friends and supporters. He had been a member of the Senate, and his personal and political friends were the masters of that body. The leaders of the House were his friends and supporters, and they had a large working majority.

*Coolidge Faced  
the Adverse  
68th Congress*

Mr. Coolidge, on the other hand, was left wholly without the advantages of support by a Republican Congress like the Sixty-seventh. He had to do business with a Congress that the Republicans had great difficulty in organizing, even nominally. As it turned out, it would have been better for the new President and his party if the Republicans had declined to organize either Senate or House, and had made no compromises at any point with the radical groups that have failed at every critical moment to act as Republicans, while on the contrary they have been acting quite consistently in coalition with the Democrats. We have had a Republican administration that has been thwarted in most of its definite aims and policies by an opposition Congress. Yet this plain fact has been obscured, and has hardly been grasped even by the newspapers of the country. The reason for this failure to appreciate the realities has been due to the circumstance that the Republicans were allowed to retain Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts as Speaker, and to name the chairmen of the important committees. But, in order to obtain this wholly futile honor, the Republicans had to compromise by so altering the House rules that an opposition majority on the floor could have its way in matters of legislation.

*Coalition  
Victories*

It has been no advantage whatever to the national Republican party, but quite the contrary, to have had a Republican, Mr. Green of Iowa, as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. The true Republican tax policy was formulated by the Administration under Mr. Mellon's leadership with President Coolidge's most strenuous support, and with the backing of the Republican press and the party at large. But the House of Representatives emphatically rejected the Republican tax proposals and



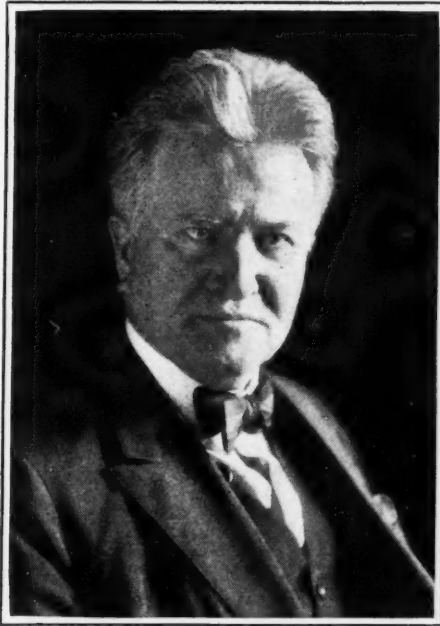
substituted the entire Democratic bill as brought forward by Mr. Garner, who was ranking Democratic member of the Ways and Means Committee. It is true that at the last moment the radicals accepted compromises proposed by Mr. Longworth, the Republican floor leader. But it would have been much better in the long run if Mr. Longworth and the House Republicans had not tried to disguise the fact that they were in the minority and therefore not responsible for tax legislation.

*Defeat of  
the Mellon  
Measure*

In the Senate, Mr. Smoot, who was an eminent Republican authority on taxation, had strongly urged the Republicans not to open the tax question at all, because he recognized plain realities. He knew that the Republicans were in the minority, and he believed that, if the tax question were opened up, the coalition majority would insist upon changing existing laws, for the worse rather than the better. This was good advice, but it was not followed. The Administration view was led by men who were sound enough in their views about taxation, but who were mere novices in the fields of politics and public opinion. A tremendous propaganda was entered upon in support of the Mellon tax bill. There was an idea in Administration circles that the votes of Senators could be affected by the kind of arguments that emanated from banking and business circles, from Chambers of Commerce, and from honest, non-partisan newspapers and periodicals. But this campaign for the Mellon bill did not change a single Senate vote, while on the contrary it greatly cheered and strengthened the advocates of punitive and discriminating policies of taxation. With the utmost ease, the coalition majority in the Senate substituted the Democratic tax bill brought forward by Senator Simmons, ranking Democratic member of the Finance Committee.

*Disguised  
Responsibility*

Some compromises were secured in the final adjustments of the conference room; but the bill as finally passed was essentially the work of the Democrats as supported by the La Follette radicals. But since the results were secured in legislative chambers that were nominally Republican, and were finally brought under the auspices of Republican Committee leaders, the Republican mem-



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**HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SENATOR  
FROM WISCONSIN**

(Senator La Follette's effective influence upon the proceedings and results of the recent session of Congress was unquestionably greater than that of any other member of either House. His direction of the insurgent groups thwarted the Administration programs at almost every major point. He is expected to head a Third Party)

bers as a whole thought it better to vote for the measure on its final passage. Thus the new tax law, as reported back by the conference committees, passed the House on May 26 by a vote of 376 to 9. The Senate meanwhile had adopted the bill by a vote of 60 to 6. To the superficial observer this might have looked like a great Republican triumph with the Democrats acquiescing, inasmuch as the bill as finally passed was reported by Republican chairmen of committees and was supported on its final passage by almost every Republican vote. Yet it was essentially a Republican defeat in a matter of major importance. If the Republicans in Congress had accepted from the very start the obvious fact that they were in the minority, and had heartily supported the policies of the Republican Administration, throwing the responsibility upon the leaders who were in full control of both Houses through coalition arrangements, it would have been far better in every way, not only for the Republican party in the present campaign, but for good





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#### TWO WOMEN LEADERS AT THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION

(Seated at the left is Mrs. A. T. Hert, of Kentucky, who becomes a vice-chairman of the Republican National Committee, succeeding Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton [standing], of Ohio, who retires)

government and for ultimately wise legislation as regards the federal revenue.

#### Tactical Party Errors

If the Republicans had stood by the President in supporting the Mellon bill, he would have vetoed it; his veto would have been sustained; the issue would have been carried to the country in the elections of November; and there would have been a good fighting chance to win support for the Administration's thoroughly sound and patriotic principles. Under the circumstances, President Coolidge thought it best to sign the bill, although he accompanied his reluctant acceptance of the measure with stinging criticisms and with the announcement that he would undertake to fight for a better tax law next winter. One reason for accepting the bill as an immediate measure was the inclusion in it of the Mellon recommendation for a 25 per cent. rebate to apply on the income tax payments of the present year upon last year's returns. The Admin-

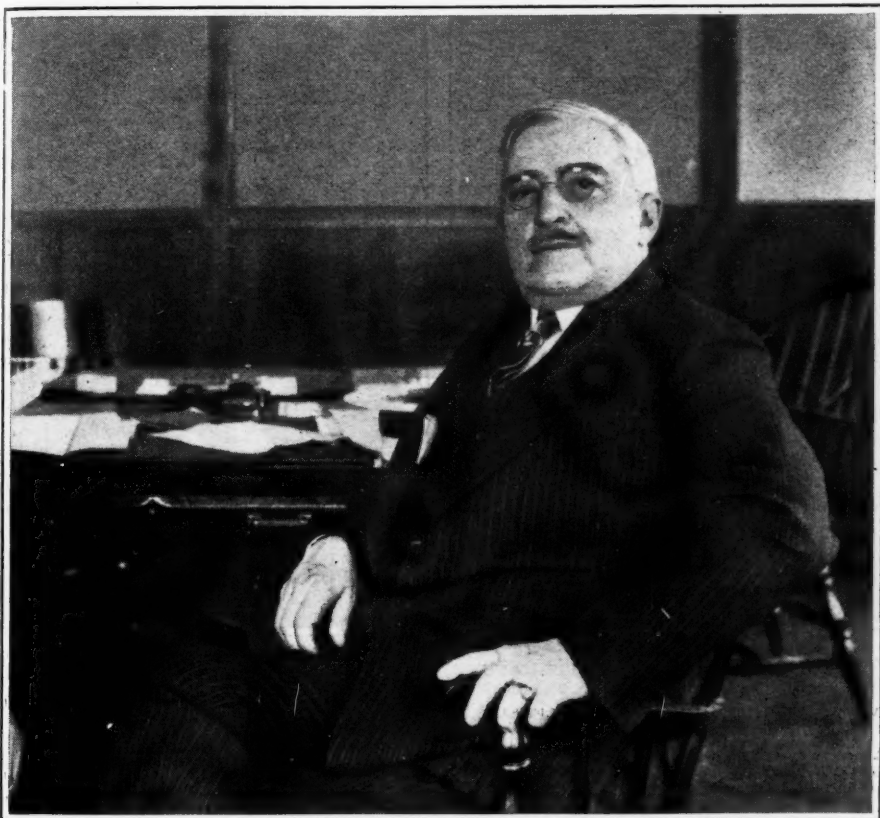
istration tried hard to get Congress to adopt this rebate as a separate matter, because in point of fact it had no place at all in the general tax law that is applicable to the coming year. But the Democrats and insurgents who were in control of the situation refused to make this a separate matter. They had in view, of course, the prospects of a veto of their general bill. Governor Smith had hit upon this idea of the 25 per cent. rebate, and had persuaded the New York legislature to adopt it as regards the State income tax. Its adoption at Washington, while affording practical relief, and while reducing the total volume of taxes, cannot be credited to the Republicans. It lay in the power of the Democrats and insurgents to grant this boon, or to withhold it. And they were wholly in favor of granting it, but insisted upon making it an inseparable part of their general measure.

#### Coolidge's Leadership Accepted

We are printing in this number a character sketch of President Coolidge as he stands before the country after ten months in the high office that he holds. During that ten months he has assumed a new and definite position. He has made some important changes in the personnel of the Administration. He has declared himself briefly and clearly upon a number of important matters of public policy. He has identified himself with programs of economy and thrift in national finance. He is looked upon as a patient, honest, shrewd and hard-headed Yankee who naturally aligns himself with the interests of the common people—the people who adhere to old American standards of public and private life. If the Republican party has any substratum of principles—any characteristic way of looking at questions as they relate to government and politics—Mr. Coolidge is the present-day leader who will be taken as representing the party in its moral and intellectual convictions. Sometimes one of the great parties finds its character and its views duly expressed by its representation in Congress. But this is not always, or even usually, the case.

#### Republican Unity

The President and his administrative group are more likely to stand for the party than is the body of party adherents in one or both houses of Congress. There are many useful and intelligent men on the Republican



HON. WILLIAM MORGAN BUTLER, NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND MANAGER OF THE COOLIDGE CAMPAIGN

(Mr. Butler was born in New Bedford, Mass., in 1861, is a lawyer by profession, and has been prominent in manufacturing enterprises, especially cotton mills. He has served in both houses of the Massachusetts legislature, and succeeded John W. Weeks as the Massachusetts member of the Republican National Committee)

side in Congress, but scarcely any who are highly representative of the party in the national sense. Furthermore, the Republicans in the present Congress have not been able to get together in caucus decisions in such a way that the team as a whole might be accepted as truly reflecting the views of the nation-wide party. If the Republicans had been more wisely led in Congress, they would have taken advantage of the facts and compelled the working anti-Republican majority to organize both Houses, to accept the chairmanships, and to assume responsibility for legislation. If this had been done, and the actual Republican minority had loyally supported President Coolidge, there might and probably would have resulted such a state of party harmony and of campaign vigor as was by no means apparent in the last days of the Congressional

session, or upon the assembling of the Cleveland convention. Nevertheless, there was nothing like such a lack of unity in the party as the chaos at Washington seemed to indicate. The convention was fairly homogeneous.

*White House  
Actions Not  
Resented*

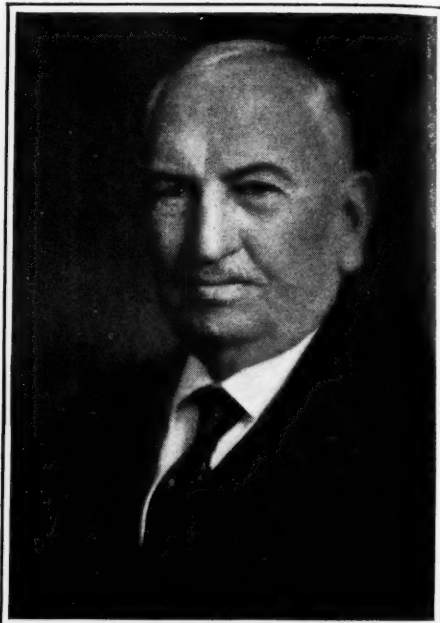
Outside of legislative circles at Washington, and outside of the National Republican Committee, Mr. Coolidge's strength with the party was not only undeniable but altogether striking. All along the line, from New England to California, his popular strength has been shown in the primaries. Congress had failed to support him chiefly because the nominal Republican majority was completely helpless and always at the mercy of a combination of the Democrats and insurgents. There was no resentment against Mr. Coolidge's veto of the bonus bill,



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**HON. FRANK W. MONDELL, PERMANENT CHAIRMAN OF THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION**

(Mr. Mondell was born at St. Louis in 1860; went to Wyoming in 1877; and after filling various offices became a Member of Congress in 1895, serving continuously for almost thirty years. He is now a Director of the War Finance Corporation)



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**HON. THEODORE E. BURTON, TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF ORATOR**

(Mr. Burton—who is now in Congress from the Cleveland, Ohio, district—graduated at Oberlin College in 1872, and next year will have been a member of the Cleveland Bar for half a century. He went to Congress in 1889, and later served a term in the Senate)

because every intelligent man in the United States knew that the bonus bill was an unworthy affair that ought not to have been passed, and that merited precisely the criticisms that were passed upon it in the veto message. There was no real resentment anywhere at the veto of the Bursum Pension bill, which Mr. Harding had previously vetoed and which was an unsuitable measure. It must be remembered that every Congressional seat was to be filled in the November election, and that Congressmen in general were thinking and acting in relation to what they regarded as the particular situation in their own respective districts.

*Some  
Reforms  
Needed*

Every great party from time to time needs to be overhauled in its machinery. The Republican National Committee has, during most of the time for a whole generation, undertaken to dominate the party in matters that did not properly belong to it. It has become an unrepresentative body, that ought to be rebuilt upon a different plan.

The wreckage of the party in 1912 was chiefly the work of the Republican National Committee, control of which was grotesquely at odds with the sentiment of the party in practically every one of the leading Republican States. As against an ineffective Republican conduct of affairs in the present Congress, and as against an aggressively mistaken assumption of dictatorial power by the Republican National Committee, the party as a whole, under the leadership of President Coolidge, is fairly cohesive. The National Committee will have fallen into line, and a Congress that has been neither fish, flesh, nor fowl will make a better showing next winter—or in any case will be succeeded by a new Congress of a better courage and a more definite party character.

*The  
Wisconsin  
Dissenters*

There is, however, one considerable element of discord in the Republican party. In Wisconsin, the Dakotas, and elsewhere to some extent in the Northwest, an element that belongs essentially to a Third Party is

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operating under the Republican emblem. This makes some confusion, and it remains to be seen whether the La Follette voters will join a Farmer-Labor movement, or a separate party under some other name, or will further attempt to hold local control of the Republican machinery. Thus Senator Brookhart early last month won his re-nomination in Iowa in the Republican primaries, although his position in the Senate has not seemed to be unlike that of Senators Shipstead and Magnus Johnson of Minnesota, who were elected on the Farmer-Labor ticket as against Republican and Democratic nominees. There is an idea afloat that Republicans like Senator Capper of Kansas and Senator Borah of Idaho are more "progressive" than, for instance, Senators Pepper and Reed of Pennsylvania, or Fess and Willis of Ohio. But, if there are any differences, they may have to do with supposed sectional interests or with traditions that go back to debates over the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The campaign of the present summer will greatly clarify the nation-wide situation in which the Republican party finds itself; and, whether it wins or loses in November, it will be the better off for the scathing ordeal through which it will have passed since the death of President Harding.

*"Old Guard"  
Amiable at  
Cleveland*

In several quadrennial conventions of the Republican party, by far too great managerial control had been assumed by the National Committee; and vastly too much personal importance had been given to certain members of the United States Senate. The so-called Old Guard was not obtrusive or officious at the Cleveland convention. Thus Theodore Burton, who was temporary chairman and who made the opening address, was perhaps a better representative of the Republican party in its entirety than any present member of the present United States Senate would have been. Mr. Mondell, of Wyoming, had been a Congressman for a long time and is now a director of the War Finance Corporation. His experience and wide acquaintance made him an efficient permanent chairman. The selection of Hon. Charles B. Warren of Michigan as chairman of the Resolutions Committee was undoubtedly a compromise and was to be judged from the standpoint of certain far less desirable alternatives. As having been recently a most acceptable



MARION LEROY BURTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

(President Burton's convention speech placing Mr. Coolidge in nomination furnished a type of oratory not familiar in political gatherings. Mr. Burton was born in Iowa in 1874; educated at Carlton College, Minn., and at Yale; became a Congregational clergyman and a teacher; afterwards serving as president of Smith College for seven years, the University of Minnesota for three years, and the University of Michigan since 1920)

Ambassador to Japan and at present an equally desirable Ambassador to Mexico, Mr. Warren has been associated with the Administration's foreign policies in both hemispheres.

*A  
College  
Orator*

The selection of Marion Leroy Burton, president of the University of Michigan, to present the name of Mr. Coolidge was felicitous. Dr. Burton is a Minnesota product who was president of Smith College at Northampton, Massachusetts, for some years, and a near neighbor and devoted friend of Calvin Coolidge. From Smith College, President Burton was called back to Minnesota to be head of the State University; but Michigan's later call was so urgent that after a short stay at Minneapolis





SENATOR AND MRS. MEDILL McCORMICK, AT THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION

(Our illustration is engraved from a photograph that was transmitted to New York by a newly invented telephonic process that is attracting much attention. Mrs. McCormick is a daughter of the late Senator Hanna, and is one of the most influential of Republican women)

he transferred his base of educational activities to Ann Arbor. When men like Dr. Burton take some part in political conventions, they are not scrabbling in the details of personal or partisan rivalry, but are trying to uphold what they regard as high principles and sound methods. As the popular head, some years, of a great college for women, Dr. Burton may be regarded as in some sense a representative of the enfranchised women voters.

*A Normal  
Sort of  
Platform*

Anticipated differences about the Republican platform had largely disappeared before the convention opened on Tuesday, June 10. Distinguished Senators went on record as unwilling to oppose any World Court plank that was acceptable to President Coolidge. It was seen clearly from the start that the platform must in no respect antagonize the Administration. Besides Mr. Warren as chairman, the most active platform makers were the sub-committee consisting of Representatives Ogden Mills of New York, Vare of Pennsylvania and Madden of Illinois, with Senator Smoot of Utah. Mr. Warren's work as a harmonizer was eminently successful. In our August number we shall have opportunity to compare party platforms; and it will suffice now merely to summarize the more important Cleveland planks. Economy, taxation reform, and honesty in public office were obvious

*La Follette's  
Resolutions*

The Wisconsin delegation, under Senator La Follette's influence, presents a dissenting platform in every national Republican convention. This was done at Cleveland with more than usual advance publicity. Governor Blaine took the lead in disseminating the La Follette program. This document condemned the Mellon tax proposals and praised the Republican Senators and members of the House who voted in favor of the measure of which President Coolidge disapproved. Senators were mentioned by name for praise in conducting investigations, or for opposing particular measures such as the attempted transfer of Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford. The La Follette resolutions also demanded the calling of a special session of Congress on Monday, July 7, to enact legislation for the relief of agriculture, the railroad labor bill, a railroad rate bill, relief for reclamation settlers, and other matters. A change in the method of electing Presidents was demanded. Messrs. Daugherty and Fall were condemned explicitly and at length.

*Money  
in  
Campaigns*

The only resolution in the La Follette series that seemed likely in advance to have much weight with the convention as a whole was the one that condemned campaign contributions from persons or corporations having such interest in natural resources, or in the

demands. The bonus is treated as an accomplished fact, and Mr. Coolidge, though he thought the enactment unwise, will execute its provisions with vigor. The Republican attitude toward prohibition confines itself to demanding strict enforcement of all laws. The flexible provisions of the tariff act are endorsed, and policies favorable to the farmers are advocated. As regards American adherence to the World Court, the convention endorsed the views of Presidents Harding and Coolidge. Faith in Coolidge is really the Republican platform this year.



use of the public domain, as to make them liable to prosecution for illegal acts. Obviously, it is very hard to regulate campaign contributions by law, because there are so many ways to evade the statutes. As a result of the Senate investigation into expenditures four years ago, there now prevails a strong and healthy sentiment against the collection of large sums. Far too much was expended in the pre-convention campaigns on behalf of the leading candidates of 1920, while the sums expended to promote the election of the Harding ticket were undoubtedly excessive. Mr. Coolidge is opposed to the collection and use of a large campaign fund; and it is to be hoped that Chairman Butler of Massachusetts, who succeeds Chairman Adams of Iowa, and who is for the time being an almost absolute dictator in control of the Republican campaign, will trust the people of the United States to do their own political thinking and speaking, without too much attempt to manage things from party headquarters. After all, campaign funds, as habitually expended, are for the most part wasted. The people of the country would be perfectly competent to give their verdict on election day, even if there were no national campaign fund whatever, and no central organization. They read the newspapers, and decide for themselves.

*Selecting a  
"Running  
Mate"*

It was impossible to make a very thrilling or exciting political occasion out of the Cleveland convention, but the Ohio city had no reason to be disappointed in having won the opportunity to entertain so important a body of visitors. One was reminded of the convention of twenty-four years ago. When McKinley was accorded his renomination at Philadelphia in 1900, there was a contest over the second place on the ticket, and this caused a little delay and made some stir. President McKinley had desired and had expected the nomination of Hon. John D. Long, of Massachusetts, then Secretary of the Navy, as his running mate. The Iowa delegation was supporting the late Senator Dolliver of that State. Theodore Roosevelt was Governor of New York, for which office he was demanding a renomination. The movement to put him on the ticket with McKinley was initiated by the powerful New York and Pennsylvania delegations under the



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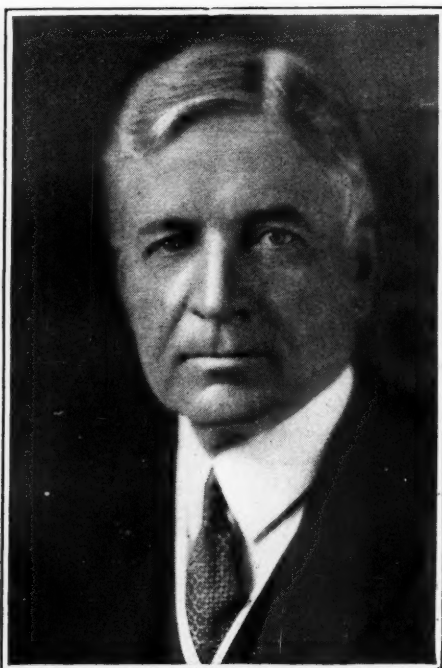
HON. CHARLES BEECHER WARREN, OF MICHIGAN, CHAIRMAN OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE AT CLEVELAND

(Mr. Warren, who is now Ambassador to Mexico after having served as Ambassador to Japan, is a prominent Detroit lawyer who has represented the United States in important international arbitrations)

dictation of interests that were determined if possible to remove this troublesome reformer from his seat of power at Albany. It happened that Governor Roosevelt was a picturesque figure at the convention, as chairman of the New York delegation and as Colonel of the recently disbanded Rough Riders.

*Colonel  
Roosevelt as  
Vice-President*

The pressure of the big bosses to make Colonel Roosevelt Vice-President against his own plans and wishes happened to coincide with a genuine enthusiasm for him in the West, where it was believed that he could help to win back several States from the clutches of the Populists and Free Silver men. Thus, in spite of himself, the New York Governor was drafted; and he accepted the call, although he believed that his active political career was thus brought to an end. He had been Vice-President, however, only a few months when the assassination of McKinley made him President for almost a full term, and launched him upon his major



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HON. FRANK O. LOWDEN, FORMER GOVERNOR  
OF ILLINOIS

(Mr. Lowden was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by the Cleveland convention, but held to his previous statement that he could not accept. He is at the head of several agricultural movements, and, while remaining in private life, he is one of the most useful and public-spirited citizens of the country)

career in public life. In the course of our history we have had much reason to attach the highest importance to the vice-presidency; and though it is the right of any public man to declare that he does not seek the office and that he will not authorize the presentation of his name at a convention, it has come to be the opinion of thoughtful people that no man who would have accepted a presidential nomination if offered to him ought to decline to accept a nomination if chosen by his party for Vice-President. Every such rule has its exceptions.

*Able Men  
Considered  
at Cleveland*

At Cleveland the situation was not quite parallel with that which presented itself twenty-four years ago at Philadelphia. Mr. Coolidge refused to let it be known that he preferred any particular man. He merely held that no man ought to be chosen for Vice-President who was not regarded as entirely competent, from the party and the national

standpoint, to assume the reins and enter the White House in view of the possible death or disability of the President. A man of such caliber was Mr. Beveridge of Indiana; but factionalism and personal politics prevented that State from bringing to the front its best qualified Republican. It was considered, similarly, that rivalries and party factionalism in Illinois might diminish the support to which ex-Governor Lowden was entitled by reason of his conspicuous fitness. Mr. Hoover, like Mr. Lowden, had been a presidential candidate in 1920, with an immense support from the unorganized public, but with scanty backing from politicians and delegates. General Charles G. Dawes of Chicago, with a long background of efficiency and usefulness in public as well as private affairs, had since the Republican victory of 1920, distinguished himself especially by his work as Director of the Budget and by his services to the world as chairman of the so-called Dawes Commission to report a solution of the reparation problem. Senator Borah's brilliant and independent work in the Senate during recent years had added greatly to his prestige, and it was not in dispute that his choice might add great strength to the ticket. Judge Kenyon of Iowa had been invited into the Cabinet by Mr. Coolidge, and was especially acceptable to the progressive wing of the party and to the agricultural interests, in view of the fact that he had only recently, when in the Senate, served as chairman of the so-called Farm Bloc. There were a good many other highly reputable men whose names were on the list of vice-presidential possibilities, among these being the two Burtons who were so prominent as convention orators.

*Definite  
Republican  
Results*

The differences of opinion at Cleveland respecting candidates for the second place were much milder than those of a national Presbyterian Assembly, for instance, in the selection of a Moderator. Apart from the Wisconsin attitude, there were no serious disagreements about platform. The bonus is to be paid as rapidly as possible in good faith. The prohibition laws are to be enforced with better machinery and greater energy as long as they are on the statute books. Tax reduction has been accomplished, but tax reform is still to be worked for. The agricultural problem is to be further considered with sincere purpose to

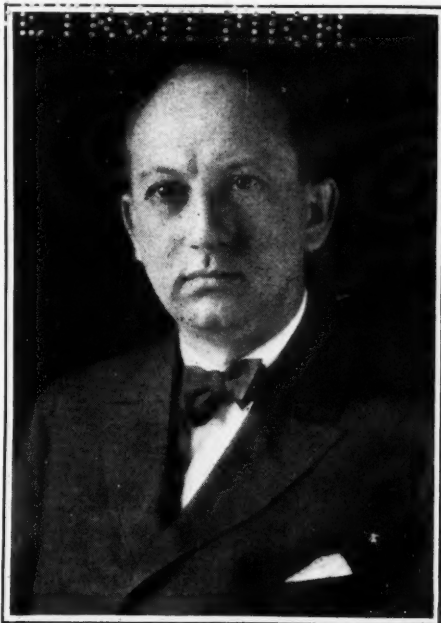
protect rural life and stabilize our most essential type of production and citizenship. It will be the business of Mr. Dawes to show that he is quite as keenly concerned for his farmer neighbors of the Middle West as any other Republican candidate could possibly have been, and that he cares as much about agriculture as does any supporter of Senator LaFollette and his radical movement.

*Democrats  
as Guests  
of New York*

Meanwhile, New York City was preparing to give the Democratic hosts "the time of their lives." Separate hospitality committees had been arranged for the delegations from each State. Republicans were joining as heartily as Democrats in planning for the comfort and entertainment of the visitors. Hotels were pledged not to charge more than their usual rates. The Democratic critics of the Cleveland convention admitted that the Coolidge-Dawes ticket would have great strength in the East, but regarded it as too aggressively conservative for the States west of the Mississippi. While the third party boomers, under La Follette's guidance, were claiming everything in advance, the liberal wing of the Democrats also argued that the situation was distinctly favorable for the nomination of Mr. McAdoo. The temporary chairman and keynote orator had been selected well in advance by unanimous agreement. This is none other than the brilliant, witty, and irrepressible Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi. Mr. Harrison will be forty-three years old next month, and is completing his first six years in the Senate after having served a like period in the House of Representatives. He is universally popular, though a most untiring assailant of his Republican opponents.

*Chief Features  
of the New  
Tax Law*

President Coolidge signed the new Revenue bill on June 2 and at the same time issued a statement forcefully criticizing certain features of the measure as finally passed by Congress, after the differences between the House and Senate plans had been ironed out in conference. The most important feature of the new law that fails to meet the approval of the Administration is, of course, the maximum surtax rate. The so-called Simmons surtax schedule which was finally adopted provides for 40 per cent. in the highest bracket, whereas the original pro-



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HON. PAT (BYRON PATTON) HARRISON, SENATOR FROM MISSISSIPPI

(Who will be temporary chairman and keynote orator of the Democratic National Convention)

posals of the Administration in Secretary Mellon's carefully constructed program provided for 25 per cent. as the highest rate of surtax. In his statement of June 2, President Coolidge again calls attention to the futility of attempts to levy very high surtaxes and the actual loss of revenue to the Government and of capital for productive enterprise through the diversion of capital, because of such high rates, into tax-exempt securities. There is current evidence of the practical truth of the Administration's viewpoint in the immediate activity that came in the markets for tax-exempt investments when it became certain that the new Revenue law provided for the higher surtaxes.

*Publicity  
Innovations*

The President did not like the provisions in the new bill for publicity of income-tax returns. The details of this part of the law were changed several times, and they are not so obnoxious in the bill as were some of the earlier proposals. The whole matter, however, of making public the amount of tax a private individual pays on his income is

new to American practice; It is also unknown in other countries and in our own States, with the exception of Wisconsin, where the legality of that State's tax publicity legislation is now being tested in the courts. The most weighty objection to the whole matter is that a business man passing through an unfortunate year or series of years might suffer from the knowledge of his reverses being conveyed in this way to his commercial rivals. As the matter was finally arranged in the new Revenue law, the publicity provisions are three in number: (1) committees of Congress have a right to obtain all the details of an individual's tax concerns; (2) the proceedings of the new Court of Tax Appeals must be open to the public in cases involving more than \$10,000; and (3) the local collectors of taxes must exhibit to the public the list of income-tax payers and the amounts paid by each.

#### *Tax Reductions in the Bill*

Taxpayers are most immediately interested in the provision for a flat 25 per cent. reduction in the amount they are called on to pay during the current year on incomes received in 1923. In cases where individuals have already paid their tax bills in full, the Treasury is to refund one-fourth of the amount. The new separation of earned from unearned incomes gives an advantage of 25 per cent. to earned incomes, not in excess of \$10,000, this advantage being figured as one-fourth of the tax which the individual would pay if his earned income constituted his entire income. The normal taxes are reduced 25 per cent. for incomes over \$8,000 and 50 per cent. for smaller incomes.

#### *New and Increased Taxes*

The rates of the Federal inheritance taxes are increased. The old law provided for one per cent. on estates not in excess of \$50,000, and rose to 25 per cent. of the amount by which a net estate exceeded \$10,000,000. The new law begins similarly but raises the tax more steeply, so that the amount of an estate exceeding \$10,000,000 pays 40 per cent. An entirely new revenue device is in the provision for a tax on gifts—transfers of property from one individual to another. The idea of this section is to assure some Federal revenue from a bestowal of property by the head of the family on a wife or children, frequently accomplished with the

purpose of easing up the higher income surtax rates and also the estate payments. In other words, if a man with \$100,000 income can give to his wife securities producing half that amount, it is obvious that with our progressive surtaxes at work, two \$50,000 incomes will not pay so much income tax as the one \$100,000 income. This new tax on gifts is retroactive to January 1, 1924, and ranges from one per cent. on gifts not in excess of \$50,000 to 40 per cent. on amounts in excess of \$10,000,000.

#### *Congress did Some Useful Things*

The session of Congress that ended on June 7 had dealt with many hundreds of bills, and had accomplished a vast deal of useful work, although the attention of the country was taken up by the numerous investigations and by the tax, bonus, and immigration measures. A number of new steps have been taken in the direction of improved handling of the country's resources of land and water, including revision of our reclamation policy, protection of Alaska fisheries, scientific forestry methods, flood prevention, highway construction, and so on. The consular service is to be reorganized and brought into closer relation with the diplomatic service. Prohibition enforcement is to be vested in an independent bureau, and a new fleet in the Coast Guard is to aid in prevention of rum smuggling. Besides the bonus law, there is new legislation extending the facilities of the Veterans Bureau. President Coolidge vetoed the measure increasing the pay of postal employees on the ground of economy. The Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, and will now be submitted to the States for their approval. Purchase of the Cape Cod Canal is one of the steps taken towards development of waterways.

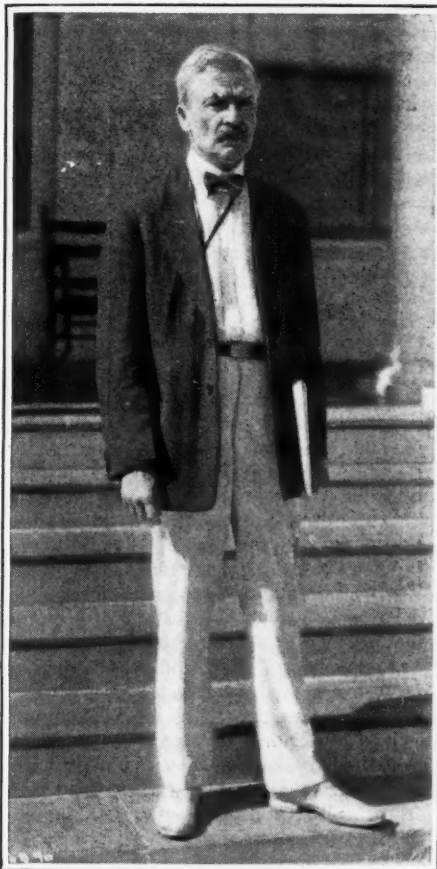
#### *The Senate's Authority to Investigate*

Even before the adjournment of Congress on June 7, the various investigations that had been instituted by the Senate had ceased to absorb public attention. A court decision had brought into question the unlimited power of the Senate to command the presence of witnesses and to pursue inquiries involving private as well as public affairs. The retired Attorney General, Mr. Daugherty, had refused to testify before the committee that was investigating the Department of Justice. A special committee headed by Senator Borah had re-



ported that Senator Wheeler of Montana had not been guilty of representing his law clients before the Departments at Washington, as had been charged against him. It is too early for final comment upon the results of the Wheeler investigation into Mr. Daugherty's conduct of the Department of Justice. The Senate will carry to the Supreme Court its claims of authority. A report upon the work of the Public Lands Committee that had been investigating the naval oil leases was transmitted to the Senate on June 5 by Senator Walsh of Montana, who had been the committee's principal member and active examiner.

*Senator Walsh Reports on Naval Oil Leases* Early in the inquiry, Mr. Walsh had made a great speech which set forth the story of the oil lands that had been reserved for future naval purposes; and the report of June 5 runs parallel in many ways with that earlier presentation. The circumstances under which these lands had been leased on royalty terms to companies controlled by Mr. Doheny and Mr. Sinclair will be remembered by many of our readers. A modified jurisdiction over these tracts of oil lands had been transferred from the Navy Department to the Interior Department, by order of President Harding at the instance of Secretary Fall, and with the consent of Secretary Denby. The investigation had brought to light certain personal details and transactions that upon their face were at least suspicious looking, if not wholly discreditable or worse. An immense excitement followed; and the hysteria that prevailed in Washington pervaded the press of the country and produced a similar effect upon the public mind. We were told that a great deal more was to follow, and that corruption unparalleled in extent, involving many public men, was soon to be unearthed, so that the very foundations of the Government would totter. Happily, the report of June 5, which was published in full by some leading newspapers, rendered it quite impossible for any wild hysterics about pervasive corruption to take possession of either of the great national conventions. An attempt of Senator La Follette to deal sharply and specifically with these matters might have succeeded if the convention had been sitting in March or April; but it could not take hold upon the minds or consciences of a Republican convention that opened on the tenth of June.



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**SENATOR THOMAS J. WALSH, OF MONTANA**

(The work of Mr. Walsh as chief investigator of the Senate's Public Lands Committee in the matter of the naval oil leases is expected to make him one of the most important and influential figures in the Democratic National Convention at New York)

*Questions  
of Law  
and of Policy*

It was a good thing, undoubtedly, that certain investigations were undertaken. If the transfer of jurisdiction over the oil reserves was illegal, and if the subsequent leases made by Secretary Fall and confirmed by Secretary Denby were to any extent fraudulent, the final answer will now be given by the courts, inasmuch as special Government counsel appointed by President Coolidge and confirmed by the Senate are undertaking to secure the abrogation of the leases. Editorially, the position taken by this periodical in discussing the investigation in our March number had to do almost wholly with the question of public policy



involved in the decision of officials at Washington to take the oil from the naval reserves at the present time, rather than to leave it in the ground for some emergency of the indefinite future. Secretary Fall, who had met with personal misfortunes and business reverses, had, subsequent to the leases, accepted pecuniary aid from men to whom these reserves had been assigned. If there had not been so much effort at concealment, these private and personal transactions would have seemed less suspicious.

*Who were  
Guilty of Fraud  
or Bribery?*

As the whole episode falls into perspective, and as men apply a clarifying common sense and a desire to be wholly just to their study of the facts, there is much less disposition to be sure that men of prominence were intentionally giving or taking bribes in connection with these oil leases. Nothing could be further from our mood than a purpose to condone loose, easy, or unscrupulous relations between Government officials and men or corporations engaged in the speculative exploitation of natural resources. Our views upon these matters have never varied, and need no reiteration. But we can well afford to await court decisions, as regards the legal or moral guilt of particular persons. The Walsh report was concurred in chiefly by the Democratic and so-called radical members of the Public Lands Committee, while the five regular Republican Senators were expected to present later a minority report. While this Walsh report is in many ways similar in its historical treatment of the leases and in its general allegations to the elaborate speech made by Senator Walsh of some five months ago, its tone seems to be much more guarded and judicial. It completely exonerates Secretary Denby and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt from any culpable part in transactions for which others—and especially Secretary Fall—are condemned. Since many of the allegations about the leases made in Senator Walsh's report are to be thoroughly tested in court proceedings, we may as well wait patiently for final judgments, knowing that everybody, whether in public office or in control of oil companies, is now on perfectly good behavior, and that the interests of the public are not in jeopardy. It remains to be seen whether the Democrats will reward Senator Walsh with a chairmanship or the vice-presidential nomination.

*Disputed  
Title to  
"Section 36"*

On June 5, the Senate promptly confirmed the President's appointment of William C. Morrow of Tacoma, Washington, to act as special counsel in proceedings to establish Government title to certain lands lying within one of the two large naval reserves in California. It should be understood that there were various claims and holdings of smaller parcels of land lying within the outer limits of the areas withdrawn as naval reserves. Mr. Morrow's task is to dispute the title of the Standard Oil Company of California to two parcels known as Sections 16 and 36, lying within Naval Reserve No. 1. In our March number, Mr. Stephen Bonsal, the well-known author and correspondent, presented an article written at our request, entitled "The Nation's Oil Reserves—The Pending Inquiry at Washington." The purpose of the article was to explain just what the naval oil reserves were, how they had come into being, how they had been transferred and leased, and what the excitement at Washington was all about. In parts of Mr. Bonsal's article, which were intended to specify charges that were being made by the prosecutors of the Senate's inquiry, it now appears that there was not sufficient care shown to make it clear that the writer's assertions were not of his own knowledge, and that he was merely reporting the accusations of others.

*A Bit of  
Public Land  
History*

Although the article in question was intended mainly to relate to the Sinclair and Doheny leases as made by Mr. Fall and accepted by Mr. Denby, certain paragraphs of the article denounced the title of the Standard Oil Company of California to Section 36—the very title that is now to be tested in the courts by the action that Mr. Morrow is instructed to bring as the Government's special counsel. Section 36 was originally school land granted to the State of California in 1853 as of agricultural character. The State sold the section to a private purchaser who afterwards allowed it to be sold for taxes; and in 1909 it was bought in whole or in part by the Standard Oil Company. It is not disputed that in 1916 the Standard Oil Company offered to turn this land over to the navy, so that there might not be conflicting interests inside of the Naval Reserve. In 1914 the Government in a general way had under-

taken to get rid of all claimants within the reservation, and the charge had been made that this Section 36 was known to be mineral land as early as 1903. But from 1914 to 1921 the matter had not been pressed, perhaps because the Government did not regard its claims as sufficiently clear.

*Proceedings Were in Good Faith* In 1921, Mr. Sutro, acting as counsel for the Standard Oil Company of California, appeared before Secretary Fall, with an array of Government lawyers and land experts present, and expounded the history of Section 36. Mr. Sutro's facts and legal points were not challenged by these Government authorities, and Secretary Fall closed the hearing in favor of the ownership represented by Mr. Sutro. It was made to appear before the Senate Committee that this proceeding was highly suspicious, if not manifestly fraudulent; and Mr. Bonsal conveyed that view in his article. It happens that the Editor—not through any representative of the claimants—has recently had access to the full minutes of the hearing in 1921; and has also, by sheer coincidence, had conversations with competent and trustworthy men one of whom attended the hearing before Mr. Fall in 1921 and another of whom was present on the occasion in 1916 when the offer of withdrawal was made to the Navy Department. There is nothing in the facts and circumstances that have come to our knowledge that would seem to justify any aspersions upon the good faith of Mr. Sutro or of the interests that he was representing in a legal capacity.

*We Can Await the Findings of the Courts* The fact that this title is now to be finally dealt with in the federal courts makes it seem to us quite proper to say that this periodical has not intended to associate itself in any way with unproven assumptions of misconduct. The reader of Mr. Bonsal's article will not fail to see that it was the conduct of Government officials that the writer was intending to criticize. But inasmuch as Mr. Fall has been so severely handled and so mercilessly exposed, we may add in all fairness that the hearing of 1921 about Section 36 does not seem on the face of the full records to have been conducted improperly by the Secretary, or to have been closed with suspicious haste. The Walsh report of June 5 goes into the

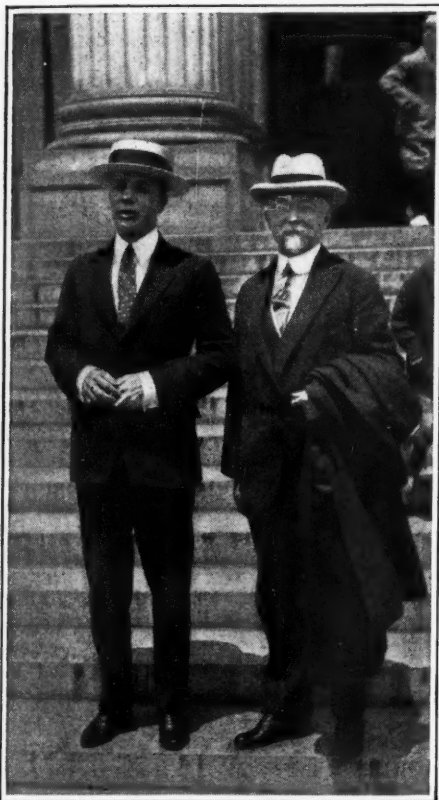
question of the title of Section 36 with much detail and in the same connection deals with the status of lands that had been acquired by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company involving (it is claimed) similar principles. Senator Walsh sticks to his guns, and continues to hold that California had not acquired final title to certain School Sections that were subsequently found to be valuable for oil.

*A Notable Conference*

The National Conferences on Out-Door Recreation, held at Washington for the three days ending May 24, was successful beyond all expectations; and it will have proved to be one of the most notable historical events of the present year. The conference had been called by President Coolidge, who had designated a group of five Cabinet members to convene and conduct it, with Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, as the executive member of the President's committee. The invitation brought to Washington somewhat more than three hundred delegates from 128 organizations. Never before in any country has there been such a gathering of men and women of authoritative knowledge and public-spirited interest regarding parks, playgrounds, forests, recreational opportunities for workmen and children; experts in various social activities both urban and rural; enthusiasts in many aspects of wild life; students of natural resources; leaders in scientific research. President Coolidge opened the affair with an admirable address, and the conference organized itself promptly into some eighteen working committees.

*A Permanent Massing of Influence*

Mr. Roosevelt, as permanent chairman of the conference, showed remarkable platform ability, and a capacity for securing results that convinced the keenly discerning members of this gathering that the son was worthily following in the footsteps of his illustrious father, and was exhibiting similar zest for out-of-door activities and for the wholesome training of the younger generation. The conference was looking to the future, realizing how rapidly our population is developing and how necessary it is to coördinate national, State, and local policies relating to park areas, forestry, fish and wild game, provision for the activities of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and many other related matters in which governmental



COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT, WITH MR. CHARLES LATHROP PACK, AT THE RECENT CONFERENCE ON OUT-DOOR RECREATION AT WASHINGTON

(Assistant Secretary Roosevelt was the chief organizer of the conference, and Mr. Pack, eminent authority on forestry and parks, was one of the leading members)

activities and the aims of various societies and organizations ought to be harmonized and united for the best results. The full report of the conference will form an inspiring volume. As a practical result, there has been formed a permanent organization. The official side will continue to be represented by Secretaries Weeks, Hoover, Work, Wallace, and Davis, with Mr. Roosevelt as executive secretary. An advisory council of a hundred members representing various organizations has been appointed, besides which a more active executive committee of a dozen members will keep in touch with the official group. Not only were topics discussed in this conference of the highest social importance but the success of such a gathering supplies a reassuring note in a depressing year.

#### *A Capable Personnel*

The chairman of the executive committee is Mr. Chauncey J. Hamlin, of Buffalo, who has been actively interested in parks and museums, as well as in other matters of public interest. The vice-chairman is Dr. John C. Merriam, head of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, one of our most eminent scientists. Mr. George E. Scott, of Chicago, is treasurer, and Dr. Vernon Kellogg, of California and Washington, is secretary. Other members of the executive committee are Hon. John Barton Payne of the Red Cross, Mrs. Rippin of the Girl Scouts, Mr. Sheldon of the Boone and Crockett Club, Mrs. Sherman of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mr. Shiras of the National League of Wild Life Photographers, Mr. Martin of the National Council of Catholic Men, and Mr. West of the Boy Scouts. We shall in a future number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* publish a more extended account of this conference, and of the advantages to be gained through the permanent organization. The resolutions point to many valuable steps of progress that may be taken under the guidance of this coöperation of agencies.

#### *Scientific Leaders at Washington*

We are fortunate in having at Washington great bureaus and public agencies well organized and splendidly directed that are concerned with the protection and the development of America's physical resources for the best welfare of our future population. Last month we published an article on the work of the Smithsonian Institution, and of the National Museum that it controls. Dr. Walcott, as the veteran head of those institutions, was a principal host of the Out-Door Conference, which held its sessions in the auditorium of the National Museum. Dr. George Otis Smith, head of the Geological Survey, in which post he succeeded Dr. Walcott, is another public servant whom the nation should delight to honor. The new chief of the Reclamation Service, Dr. Elwood Mead, of California, is our most eminent authority upon farm colonies and the settlement and treatment of irrigation tracts. General Greeley, who contributes to our present number a notable article on the national forests as recreation grounds, is head of the Forestry Bureau in the Agricultural Department and is also typical of those admirable men of scientific attainments and high character who are



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DR. ELWOOD MEAD

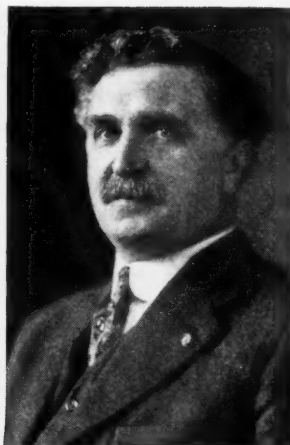
(New head of the Reclamation Service)



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DR. CHARLES D. WALCOTT

(Head of the Smithsonian Institution)



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DR. GEORGE OTIS SMITH

(Director of the U. S. Geological Survey)

## THREE EMINENT SCIENTIFIC AUTHORITIES AT WASHINGTON

serving the people of the United States in public positions with such eminent ability and unselfish devotion. Dr. Merriam, the present head of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, is another of these leaders of world-wide scientific fame.

#### *Changing Presidents in France*

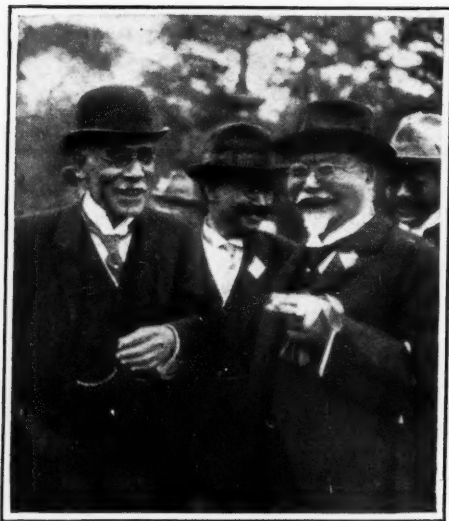
Mr. Simonds, in his article that appears elsewhere in this number, discusses at length the striking moves of the past few weeks in European politics. Although it is unusual for a French President to retire because he is not in political harmony with majorities in a newly elected parliament, it is quite possible under the French system to produce a deadlock that virtually requires the President's retirement from office. In the United States, the President is not selected by Congress, neither does he derive his authority from that body. But in France, on the contrary, the President is elected by the chambers. While he is expected to be inactive and non-partisan under ordinary conditions, it is his duty to accept the resignation of a ministry that is defeated in the legislative chambers and to designate a new Prime Minister. If the political majorities in the chambers become so disaffected that they will not accept any new Cabinet chief that the President of the Republic names, even though he names their own man, a deadlock ensues, and the President, being in the weaker position, is practically compelled to withdraw and to allow the cham-

bers to elect his successor. This is what has happened, and thus the veteran radical who had already been chosen to preside over the National Senate, has been made President of the Republic. President Millerand, on June 11 retired from public life, and the legislative bodies, meeting together in the historic palace at Versailles, chose Gaston Doumergue as President. The new head of the State thereupon took up his residence in the Elysee Palace in Paris which corresponds to the White House at Washington as the official home of the President of the Republic. The recent changes in France are regarded as favorable to working agreements with the Labor ministry in England, and as also conducive to the ultimate acceptance of the Dawes reparation program.

#### *Japan and Our New Exclusion Act*

If there had been a strong and effective Republican control of Congress, it is altogether likely that the urgent views of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes regarding Japanese exclusion would have been accepted. Japan was fully ready to maintain entire exclusion under the Gentlemen's Agreement, or to accept a quota under the new immigration law which is based upon the racial facts disclosed by the census of 1890, and which would have cut Japan's yearly allotment to a negligible maximum of two or three hundred individuals. Our relations with Japan are so important, and the





VISCOUNT KOFUEI KATO, NEW JAPANESE PREMIER (LEFT), WITH MR. TAKAHASHI, A FORMER PREMIER

(This snapshot was taken at a garden party given by Mrs. Cyrus E. Woods before our retiring Ambassador sailed for home)

position of Japan in the world—as the one great power of Asia and as one of the five recognized world powers—is so distinctive and superior, that Congress was not justified in tactlessly adopting Japanese exclusion by law against Japan's protest, when two other methods of exclusion, each of them more workable and effective, were entirely available. Furthermore, one or the other of these two methods would have been satisfactory to President Coolidge and to our own Department of State.

#### *A Change of Ministers*

It is quite true that immigration is our own affair; and that there are sound reasons for thinking it unwise to import Asiatic labor, or to open the gates to a further large influx from Europe. But it is to be deeply regretted that the United States Senate should have rejected the earnest and wise suggestions of President Coolidge in respect to the exclusion of Japanese immigrants. A change of cabinet in Japan has not resulted in bringing into authority men who are unfriendly to the United States. It has been intimated that Ambassador Hanihara, who is on leave of absence, would not return to Washington, and that he might be succeeded by Viscount Ishii. Hon. Cyrus E.

Woods, who has given up his post as Ambassador to Japan, sailed for America last month amidst the warmest expressions of regret from the Japanese people. Although the educated and experienced leaders of Japan recognize the fact of American friendship for their country as having no relation to our immigration policy, it has been almost impossible to make the common people of Japan, inflamed by the sensational press, see anything but hostility in the recent act of Congress. Accordingly, there have been some very disagreeable incidents of anti-American feeling on the part of Japanese mobs.

#### *A Poor Season for Farmers*

The Government crop report issued on June 8 was not an optimistic document. The Pacific Coast and the far west, especially California, have suffered from serious drouths and hot weather while in the States to the east, farmers have been discouraged by conditions exactly the reverse—an exceptionally wet and cold spring. California has, too, been struggling with the foot-and-mouth disease, that desperate epidemic which has been plaguing the cattle-growers of the Midlands in England for so many years. California has been intelligent and lucky enough promptly to get the disease under control; the cost of doing this is estimated at \$3,000,000. As a result of the bad growing season, the two wheat crops, spring and winter, are both well below last year's, so far as current estimates go. The outlook for the wheat farmer is not, however, quite so bad as it has been because the world outlook for this grain is improving. Europe has been consuming wheat more rapidly of late while the world crop does not promise to be excessive.

#### *More Cotton Wanted*

Curiously enough America has been suffering economically from a too great production of wheat while we have been troubled by a too small production of cotton. The successful wheat harvests of Europe and the enormous increase in Canada's production have kept the price of this grain down practically to pre-war levels, and farmers receiving pre-war prices for their wheat are hard put to pay twice pre-war prices for their clothing, furniture and the other manufactured articles they must buy with the cash proceeds of their wheat fields. Exactly the reverse situation has come with





GASTON DOUMERGUE, ELECTED PRESIDENT OF FRANCE BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AT VERSAILLES, JUNE 13, AND IMMEDIATELY INSTALLED IN THE ELYSEE PALACE AS PRESIDENT MILLERAND WITHDREW ON THE SAME DAY

(President Doumergue, of an old Calvinist family of Nîmes, is the first Protestant President of France. He has served in the legislative bodies for thirty years, been a member of six cabinets, and was Premier just before the war. He is a radical, but not an extremist)

cotton. There was a very large crop in 1920 which, with the suddenly arrested consumption in the acute depression which started in that year, led to a carry-over of no less than nine million bales. In the last three seasons, the industry has been living on the fat of this abnormal carry-over of 1920 and for the cotton planters reduced acreage in 1921 in the enormous proportion of 30 per cent. or more, and the bollweevil has been merrily working throughout the last few years. The excess stocks have now been practically consumed and it is a question whether the world is going to have enough of this staple for its needs. The immediate effect of this has been to throw the textile industries into confusion and depression. The cotton mill owner, confronted by wages more than twice the pre-war level, and cotton, his raw material, about three times the pre-war cost, has been forced to put prices on his finished cotton goods that have discouraged consumption. The demand for his finished goods, already somewhat hard hit by the low purchasing power of the farmers at large, has so decreased that the cotton mills of the country are either closed down or running but a few days a week. At the same time labor in the textile mills is restive and firmly set against any deductions in pay that would ease the situation.

#### *Interest Rates at Pre-War Levels*

The past three months have brought a distinct slackening in industrial activity generally, and many people have been talking of a severe and prolonged business depression. Others see in this recession from the high-tide of activity last March only a natural caution suggested by the political developments of the summer and autumn ahead—a fear lest the radical elements, with uncertain ideas of economics and finance, should be increased in power by the coming elections. Whatever be the cause, prices have gone downwards, the railroads have had less goods to carry and there have been signs of slackening activity even in construction work. With the release of the money that had been used in expanding trade, interest rates have tended to fall, with a corresponding increase in the price of bonds and other investment securities. Secretary Mellon was offering, in June, Treasury certificates of indebtedness, in the amount of \$150,000,000, bearing interest at the rate of only  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent.—the first full return to pre-war interest rates.

#### *Are We in for "Bad Times"?*

There are, however, some special reasons for the depression in particular industries, for instance the practical prostration in the mining of bituminous coal, with the



MISS KATHRYN NEWELL ADAMS, PRESIDENT  
OF THE CONSTANTINOPLE WOMEN'S COLLEGE

resulting loss of freight to the railroads, is primarily due to the accumulation last spring, when a strike was feared, of the most extensive stocks of fuel that have ever been piled up at one time. The balance of opinion seems to be that most of the acute business troubles one sees this summer, as in the textile trades, the farmers' situation and the coal industry have their special causes and that there is no apparent reason to fear any vast disruption of business and a plunge from prosperity into depression. To support this view it was noted even in June

that the rate of recession in prices and other measures of trade activity was itself slackening. It must be remembered, too, that the lessons of 1920-21 are very fresh in the minds of our manufacturers and traders. At the slightest hint of a slump, they take vigorous measures to avoid the possibility of being caught with heavy stocks on hand in a declining market. The result of this cautious policy taught by the troubles three years back is that there is very little over-extension or unwise building up of inventories; it will take but a short time to bring down stocks to a point where they must be replenished by active buying.

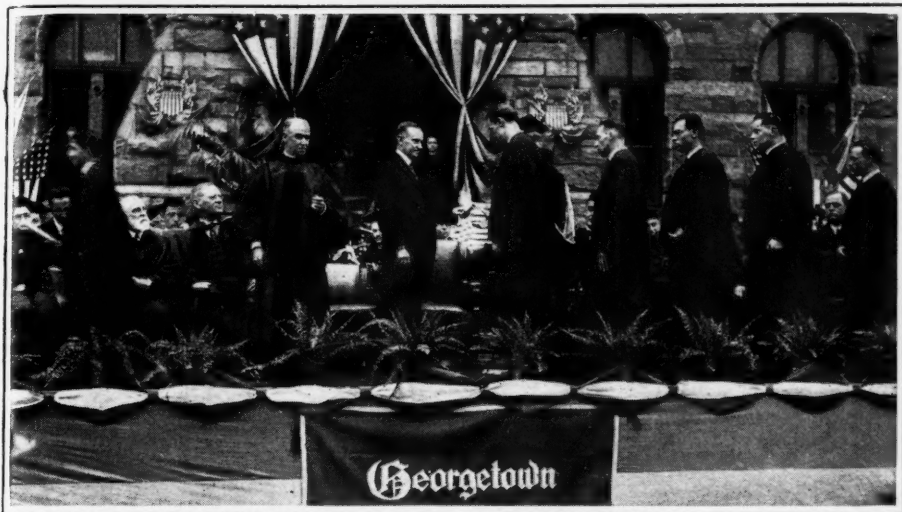
*American  
Colleges in  
Turkey*

On June 9, Miss Kathryn Newell Adams was inaugurated as head of the Woman's College at Constantinople. Dr. Mary Mills Patrick retires after fifty-three years of educational work in Turkey. Miss Adams, of a distinguished American educational family, had been teaching in the college for three years. In its student body are young women of sixteen Eastern nationalities. The institution is in favor with the Turkish authorities, and has a great service to perform for the awakening women of the regions where Europe and Asia meet. Robert College, the American institution for men at Constantinople, is also well protected under the terms of the Lausanne agreement between Turkey and the United States, and continues to flourish. The American University at Beirut, of which Mr. Bayard Dodge is president, has the protection of France under its Syrian mandate.



BUILDINGS OF THE WOMEN'S COLLEGE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

(The College was founded in 1871. In 1914, it moved into the splendid buildings on the Bosphorus shown above which were the gift of Mrs. Helen Gould Shepard, Mrs. Henry Wood, Mrs. Russell Sage, Miss Olivia P. Stokes, Mr. Rockefeller, and Mr. William Bingham)



PRESIDENT COOLIDGE PRESENTS DIPLOMAS TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY AT THE 125TH COMMENCEMENT OF THAT INSTITUTION AT WASHINGTON ON JUNE 9

## RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 14 to June 15, 1924)

### PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

May 14.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.) submits a report of the committee which investigated the indictment of Mr. Wheeler (Dem., Mont.); the committee exonerates Wheeler of receiving money for representing a client before the Interior Department.

May 15.—The House, voting 308 to 58, adopts the conference report on the Immigration bill, with the effective date set for July 1, 1924. . . . The Senate also adopts the report, 69 to 9, although the President had asked that the so-called Japanese exclusion be put off till 1925 or 1926.

May 17.—The House passes the Bonus bill over the President's veto, voting 313 to 78; estimates are that 3,038,283 veterans will receive insurance policies averaging \$962 each and 389,583 others will get \$50 or less in cash.

May 19.—The Senate overrides the President's veto of the Bonus bill, voting 59 to 26, with 17 Republicans and 9 Democrats in the minority.

May 23.—In the Senate, Mr. Wheeler (Dem., Mont.) is exonerated, 56 to 5, on the basis of the committee report of May 14.

The Senate passes the Agricultural Appropriation bill with a total of \$60,000,000.

May 24.—The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations reports the plan of Mr. Pepper (Rep., Pa.)—instead of the President's—for American participation in the Permanent Court of International Justice; the committee vote is 10 to 6 for the Pepper plan and 10 to 8 against the Harding-Coolidge plan.

The Senate approves the conference report on the Tax Revision bill, voting 60 to 6, the minority consisting of Messrs. Brookhart, Ernst, Frazier, Moses, Norris, and Johnson of Minnesota.

May 26.—The Senate adopts an amendment to

the Postal Salary bill, offered by Mr. Borah (Rep., Id.), providing for full publicity regarding all campaign funds every ten days during the presidential contest; the vote is 55 to 0.

The House approves the conference report on the Tax Reduction bill, voting 376 to 9; and it goes to the President.

May 27.—In the Senate, the Postal Salary bill is passed, 77 to 3, with the rider for publication of all campaign fund details.

In the House, Royal H. Weller (Dem., N. Y.), is confirmed in his seat without roll call or debate.

May 28.—The House passes the Butler Navy bill, with appropriations of \$150,000,000 for bringing the navy up to its ratio strength; the vote is 166 to 138; \$18,360,000 is for modernizing six battleships, \$88,800,000 for building 8 scout cruisers, and \$700,000 for 6 river gun-boats to serve in China.

May 29.—The House passes the Legislative appropriation bill, carrying \$2,381,000 for the Senate, \$6,203,000 for the House, \$3,503,000 for the Government Printing Office, and \$1,068,000 for the Congressional Library.

May 31.—The Senate passes the Legislative appropriation bill.

June 2.—The House votes 221 to 157 to adjourn June 7 until December.

In the House, the bill reclassifying postal workers' pay is passed, 250 to 14; the wage increase proposed would cost about \$64,000,000.

June 3.—The Senate, voting 53 to 36, decides to adjourn June 7; the resolution of Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) for a recess of a month only is defeated, 36 to 52.

In the House, the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief bill is defeated, 224 to 154.

June 4.—Former Attorney-General Daugherty

refuses to submit to examination by the Senate committee headed by Mr. Brookhart.

June 5.—The Senate's oil investigating committee under Mr. Walsh (Dem., Mont.), reports that ex-Secretary Fall showed "utter disregard of law" in making leases of oil lands under an executive order of May, 1921, the legality of which is questioned; there will be a minority report, the vote in committee being 8 to 5 (see page 18).

The Senate votes 70 to 2 to carry to the Supreme Court the question of the authority of its committee investigating former Attorney-General Daugherty (called into question by his refusal to testify).

The Senate confirms the nomination of William C. Morrow as special Government oil counsel to regain title to Sections 16 and 36 in California Naval Reserve No. 1.

The House passes an appropriation of \$165,000,000 for highway construction.

The Senate passes the Navy Modernization bill, appropriating \$110,000,000.

June 6.—The Senate passes the Permanent National Reforestation bill, appropriating \$2,000,000 a year to be matched by the States.

June 7.—The Senate appoints a committee headed by Mr. Borah (Rep., Ida.) to investigate campaign expenditures of candidates for federal offices.

The first session of the Sixty-eighth Congress comes to an end; in the jam of closing the \$182,000,000 deficiency bill (which included an appropriation to make operative the Bonus bill during the first year) fails to come to a vote.



MRS. CHARLES G. DAWES, WIFE OF THE REPUBLICAN NOMINEE FOR THE VICE-PRESIDENCY, AS PHOTOGRAPHED AT THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION

## AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 14.—At New York, nine prominent supper clubs and cabarets are closed by padlock injunction under the Volstead Act.

May 15.—President Coolidge vetoes the Soldiers' Insurance Bonus bill, principally for financial reasons.

James A. Foley, elected leader of Tammany Hall to succeed Charles F. Murphy, declines because of ill health.

The Michigan Democratic convention decides to support Senator Woodbridge N. Ferris for President and reads Henry Ford out of the party.

The Kentucky Democratic convention instructs 26 national delegates to vote for McAdoo under the unit rule.

May 16.—Oregon preferential presidential primaries result in victory for Coolidge over Johnson on the Republican side and for McAdoo, Democrat, unopposed; Senator Charles L. McNary (Rep.) defeats Mayor George L. Baker of Portland for Senator, and will be opposed by W. H. Strayer (Dem.).

May 17.—Senator Pat Harrison (Dem., Miss.) is selected as temporary chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and will be the "keynote orator" at the convention in New York on June 24.

May 19.—Henry Luse Fuqua, of Baton Rouge, is inaugurated Governor of Louisiana.

May 20.—President Coolidge takes the Army dispensary treatment of chlorine gas for a cold.

May 21.—The Idaho Democratic convention endorses McAdoo, but does not instruct national delegates to vote for him.

The South Carolina Democratic convention instructs for McAdoo.

May 26.—The Immigration bill is signed by President Coolidge, who issues a statement deprecating the Japanese exclusion provision, but noting his inability to separate it from the rest of a very comprehensive and much needed law.

May 27.—West Virginia primaries result in uncontested preference for Coolidge; the Democratic delegation will go uninstructed; Jake Fisher (Dem.) and Howard M. Gore (Rep.) are preferred for Governor and William E. Chilton (Dem.) and Guy D. Goff (Rep.) for United States Senator.

President Coolidge signs the Rogers bill reorganizing and consolidating the diplomatic and consular services into a new Foreign Service, paying from \$3000 to \$9000 in the classified salary scale.

The Texas Democratic convention instructs national delegates to vote for McAdoo; Alvin M. Owsley is endorsed for Vice-President.

James D. Phelan is chosen to nominate Mr. McAdoo at the Democratic National Convention at New York.

May 28.—Senator Robert M. La Follette issues a statement warning against communism behind the Farmer-Labor convention at St. Paul, June 17; and he advocates a thorough housecleaning by Republicans and Democrats, with the implication he may run on an independent ticket.

May 29.—The Nevada Democratic convention endorses McAdoo but sends uninstructed delegates.

In Montana, Mr. Coolidge (Rep.) and Mr. McAdoo (Dem.) are unopposed in the polls for instruction of national convention delegates.

May 30.—President Coolidge makes a Memorial Day address at Arlington National Cemetery, saying





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VICE CHAIRMAN CHARLES D. HILLES OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (left), WITH MRS. CHARLES H. SABIN AND HON. LAFAYETTE B. GLEASON, WHO WERE NEW YORK DELEGATES

(Mr. Hilles, who is national committeeman for New York, will be associated as vice-chairman with Chairman William M. Butler in carrying on the Republican campaign. Mr. Gleason was secretary of the national convention, and Mrs. Sabin is one of the official leaders of the Republican women voters of New York)

that he is "one of those who believe we would be safer and that we would be meeting our duties better by supporting" the World Court.

May 31.—Dr. Marion Leroy Burton, of the University of Michigan, is chosen to nominate Calvin Coolidge in the Republican National Convention.

The Minnesota Democratic convention chooses 24 delegates, 21 of whom are pledged to Governor Smith of New York.

June 2.—President Coolidge signs the Tax Reduction bill, but issues a statement criticizing it as inadequate and unsound for permanent policy.

In the Iowa primaries, Senator Smith W. Brookhart defeats Burton E. Sweet for the Republican nomination for the United States Senate, while Dan Steck, of Ottumwa, is named for Senator by the Democrats; John Hammill, of Britt (Rep.), and J. C. Murtagh, of Waterloo (Dem.), are nominated for Governor.

June 3.—The Louisiana House passes three bills framed by Governor Fuqua to curb the Ku Klux Klan.

McAdoo defeats Underwood in Florida primaries as Democratic choice for President; John Martin leads the field for Governor, while William J. Bryan is elected as a national delegate at large.

June 4.—Fred W. Upham of Illinois retires as treasurer of the Republican National Committee; Roy O. West, of Chicago, succeeds George B. Lockwood as secretary.

William C. Morrow, of Tacoma, Wash., is named by the President as special counsel to establish Government title to Sections 16 and 36 of Naval Oil Reserve No. 1, in California, now held by the Standard Oil Company of California; Samuel Knight, who was originally named, failed of approval by the Senate.

June 5.—The Indiana Democratic convention pledges religious and personal freedom, selects Dr. Carleton B. McCulloch of Indianapolis for Governor,

and sends an unpledged delegation to New York favorable to Senator Ralston.

The Budget Bureau estimates that \$16,140,000 will have to be refunded to income tax payers under the new tax-reduction law.

June 7.—President Coolidge vetoes the Postal Salary Increase bill, stating that "Government extravagance must stop," and that in private pursuits salaries for similar workers are "much lower than those paid in the postal service."

The President signs the San Carlos (Ariz.) Reclamation bill to irrigate 80,000 acres of Pima Indian land at a cost of \$5,500,000; he also signs the Bursum Pueblo Land Title bill, the Foster bill for choosing a site for the women's federal penitentiary, and other measures.

Mrs. Elizabeth P. Martin is chosen as chairman of the committee on permanent organization of the Republican National Convention.

June 8.—Gov. Alfred E. Smith states his position on prohibition, favoring abolition of the saloon and strict law enforcement, fixation of a maximum permissible alcoholic content by Congress with State freedom to enforce within that limit, varied according to local sentiment; he believes the federal authorities should control importation of liquor.

June 9.—The La Follette radicals, on the eve of the Republican convention, issue a series of resolutions demanding that Fall and Daugherty be read out of the party, condemning the Mellon tax plan, commending Senators who conducted various investigations, and advocating measures designed for relief of farmers.

The Supreme Court unanimously upholds the Willis-Campbell beer bill prohibiting physicians from prescribing malt liquors.

June 10.—The Republican National Convention opens at Cleveland, Ohio, and Congressman Theodore E. Burton delivers the keynote speech.

June 11.—The Republican platform adopted at

Cleveland recites economies, benefits from flexible protective tariffs, adjustment of foreign debts, and agricultural readjustment efforts; it advocates railroad consolidation and rate reform, Government mediation in major strikes, better care of disabled veterans, retention of the Philippines, improvement of naturalization laws, and prosecution of "all wrongdoers, without regard for political affiliation or position"; and upholds the Harding-Coolidge World Court plan.

The Virginia Democratic convention instructs for Senator Carter Glass.

The New Hampshire Democratic committee agrees to place Governor Fred. H. Brown in nomination at New York.

June 12.—Calvin Coolidge is nominated to succeed himself as President on the first ballot in the Republican convention, receiving 1065 votes; 34 go to Senator Robert M. LaFollette and 10 to Senator Hiram Johnson; Charles G. Dawes, of Illinois, is named for the Vice-Presidency on the third ballot, 682½ to 234½, after former Governor Lowden had been nominated and had declined; the Coolidge nomination speech is made by Dr. Marion LeRoy Burton, who departs severely from political tradition.

At Ebensburg, Pa., 31 alleged Klan members are found guilty of "affray and unlawful assemblage" although the jury refuses to convict them of rioting.

President Coolidge authorizes emergency use of existing appropriations to expedite payment of the Soldier Bonus, after Congress fails to provide funds.

June 14.—The Independent Home Oil Company sues to enjoin the Governor of South Dakota from selling gasoline at retail.

#### FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 16.—The House of Commons defeats a measure for national ownership of coal mines by a majority of 96; Lloyd George opposes it in the debate, and Liberals either fail to vote or turn it down.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen's secretary denies Associated Press reports of the death of his chief.

May 17.—The Soviet Government issues a decree prohibiting high school and university education to all except students designated by the Communist party and the trade unions; 100,000 non-proletarian students of the middle class expect to be cast out.

May 19.—At Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, Scotland, James Brown, M.P., a working miner, is given royal authority, representing the King for ten days under the title of His Grace the Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

May 24.—In Soviet Russia, 17 former officials are condemned to death by the Supreme Court for bribery and corruption in office and 14 are sentenced to from three to ten years' imprisonment.

King Victor Emmanuel opens the Italian Parliament.

May 25.—The Russian Communist party holds its annual convention at Moscow; it has a membership of 600,000, of whom 128,000 joined last month, consisting of 46 per cent. workmen, 26 per cent. peasants, 20 per cent. government clerks, and the remainder women.

May 26.—The Marx-Stresemann cabinet in Germany resigns on the eve of the convening of the Reichstag.

May 28.—President Ebert asks Dr. Wilhelm Marx, former Chancellor, to form a new Government.

June 1.—Dr. Ignatz Seipel, the Austrian Chancellor, is seriously wounded by a workman who also attempts to kill himself.

The new French Chamber is opened, with 336 Deputies opposed to any Premier President Millerand may name.

Trotsky is reelected to the Central Committee by the Communist convention at Moscow; but Karl Radek is dropped and replaced by Leonid Krassin.

June 3.—In Germany, the Marx-Stresemann cabinet resumes official control, with a coalition of People's party, Clericals, and Democrats, the reactionaries having failed to form a Government.

June 5.—President Millerand of France refuses to resign at the behest of the parliament, stating that, having been elected for seven years, he will complete his term; M. Herriot, to whom he offers the premiership, refuses to form a cabinet.

In the Irish Free State, Hugh Kennedy is appointed Chief Justice, and Timothy Sullivan becomes President of the High Court of Justice.

June 6.—The German Reichstag approves, by a vote of 247 to 183, the Government's acceptance of the Dawes report; the Nationalist motion of lack of confidence is defeated, 239 to 194, and a recess of three weeks is taken.

June 7.—M. Francois-Marsal accepts the premiership of France in order to bring the presidential issue before the parliament.

Japanese Prince Regent Hirohito commands the Kiyoura cabinet to remain in office until a new Government is formed; it is the first ministry in Japan to be overthrown by the electorate.

June 10.—President Alexander Millerand is forced to resign after a technical vote against him of 329 to 214 in the Chamber of Deputies and of 154 to 144 in the Senate.

June 11.—The Kiyoura Cabinet is succeeded in Japan by a Government headed by Premier Kofuji Kato, with Baron Kijuro Shidehara as Foreign Minister and Korekiyo Takahashi as Minister of Commerce; Viscount Kijuhio Ishii will be Ambassador at Washington, succeeding Mr. Hanihara.

June 13.—Gaston Doumergue is elected President of France by the National Assembly at Versailles, the vote being 515 for Doumergue, 309 for Painlevé, and 32 for Camelinea.

June 14.—Edouard Herriot is appointed Premier of France, assuming also the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

General Salvador Alvarado, former Governor of Yucatan, Mexico, is reported executed by one of his own generals after court martial for leading his men to disaster.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 15.—The international conference on immigration begins at Rome, with representatives of fifty-eight nations, to discuss regulating the flow of population.

Australia appoints J. A. M. Elder as Trade Commissioner to the United States, succeeding Donald Mackinnon.

May 19.—Cyrus E. Woods resigns as American Ambassador to Japan, and plans to sail for home on June 6.

Formal negotiations are begun at Peking between

Minister Yoshizawa, Japanese representative in China, and M. Karakhan, the Russian envoy.

A ship liquor treaty between the United States and Germany is signed at Washington; it is similar to that with Great Britain.

May 24.—The United States signs its fourth ship liquor treaty extending the right of search beyond the three-mile limit, this time with Norway.

May 26.—King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena of Italy visit England, with the Prince of Piedmont and the Princess Mafalda.

May 28.—Japanese Foreign Minister Matsui, after consulting the Prince Regent, sends an urgent protest to Washington against the Japanese exclusion provision in the immigration law just signed by President Coolidge.

June 2.—China recognizes the Russian Soviet Government.

June 4.—Two missionaries are released by Chinese bandits to negotiate ransom for others who are still held in the mountains.

June 5.—Bulgaria ratifies the extradition treaty with the United States.

The chairman of the Irish Boundary Commission is announced by Premier MacDonald as Justice Richard Feetham of the South African Supreme Court.

June 6.—The United States and Canada sign an agreement for suppression of narcotics and liquor smuggling across the border.

June 7.—At Tokio a gang of political ruffians breaks up a dance at the Imperial Hotel, with provocative speeches reviling Japanese who are present for associating with Americans and other foreigners.

June 9.—The Mesopotamia Constituent Assembly is reported to have refused to ratify the Anglo-Irak treaty until certain points concerning the independence of Irak are modified.

Italy and Britain initial a treaty on Jubaland by which Italy gains the harbor of Kimayu and Port Durnford.

June 11.—The Anglo-Irak treaty is ratified by the Mesopotamian legislature, 38 to 25, the resolution stating that Irak is unable to fulfill the responsibilities imposed.

#### OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

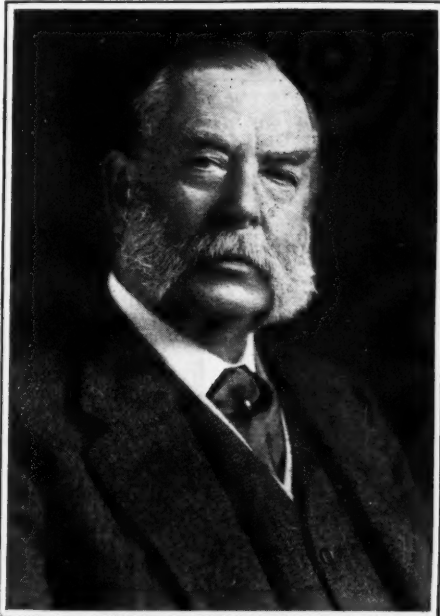
May 17.—The United States army world fliers reach Kachiwabara Bay, on Paramashiru Island, in the Kuriles; they are the first aviators to cross the Pacific, making the 878 miles from Attu Island in the Aleutians through snow and gales under command of Lieut. Lowell H. Smith.

May 19.—The American Telephone and Telegraph Company succeeds in transmitting pictures over a telephone wire from Cleveland to New York; the transmitting apparatus is actuated by the variation of light waves through photographic film on a potassium pencil, whose photo-electric current fluctuations are imposed on the direct wire current, amplified a billion times.

May 20.—Capt. Pelletier d'Oisy, French round-the-world aviator, wrecks his airplane in landing at Shanghai.

Union Theological Seminary (New York) receives a gift of \$1,083,334 from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and \$1,250,000 from an unnamed donor.

May 22.—The American world fliers reach Japan's main naval air base at Kasumigaura, near Tokio;



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#### MR. GEORGE F. BAKER, THE NOTED FINANCIER AND PHILANTHROPIST

(Who on June 2 gave \$5,000,000 to extend the work of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and to increase its endowment. Mr. Baker is in his eighty-fifth year and is chairman of the board of the First National Bank of New York. His previous benefactions include \$1,000,000 given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City and a \$2,000,000 endowment to Cornell University)

the aviators have covered 6,575 miles in 90 hours of flying time, since their start on March 17 from Santa Monica, Calif.

The 136th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church meets at Grand Rapids, Mich., and elects Rev. Dr. Clarence Edward McCartney as moderator.

May 27.—Tornadoes kill thirty-six persons in Alabama and Mississippi.

May 29.—John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s gift of \$1,000,000 to France for repairing the roof of Rheims Cathedral, the fountains of Versailles, and Fontainebleau Palace, is accepted.

May 31.—William Montgomery Brown, former Bishop of Arkansas, is convicted of heresy by a Court of Trial Bishops at Cleveland, Ohio, for remarks in his book on "Communism and Christism"; Bishop Brown says the trial means "the subordination of every dogma to the progressive revelations of science."

June 1.—Twenty-three girls are killed in a fire at the Hope Development School for mentally deficient near Los Angeles.

George F. Baker, the New York banker, gives \$5,000,000 to endow the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

June 3.—The navy airship *Shenandoah* makes a successful flight after repairs caused by being torn from her mooring mast in a gale.

Dr. C. Leroy Meisinger, a Weather Bureau

expert, and Lieut. James T. Neely, aviator, are killed in flight while studying cyclonic disturbances in a balloon near Monticello, Ill.

June 4.—The American fliers reach Shanghai, China, from Japan.

June 11.—Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews sails from San Francisco on the fourth Asiatic expedition of the American Museum of Natural History; he discovered dinosaur eggs 10,000,000 years old in the Gobi Desert of Mongolia on the third expedition recently.

June 12.—Aboard the U. S. battleship *Mississippi*, 3 officers and 45 men are killed in a turret when one of the 14-inch guns backfires; 20 others are injured; the accident occurs during high-elevation gun practice near San Pedro, Cal.

#### OBITUARY

May 14.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen, President since 1921, of South China, 58. . . . Brig. Gen. John W. Barker, U. S. A., 51. . . . Dr. Carl E. Martin, oratorio singer, 74. . . . John Duffy, Missouri pioneer, 103.

May 15.—Dr. Ernest Laplace, noted Philadelphia surgeon and author, 63. . . . Baron D'Estournelles de Constant, famous French pacifist, 73.

May 16.—Emanuel Reicher, noted German actor, 75.

May 17.—Thomas Comerford Martin, former editor of the *Electrical World*, 67.

May 18.—Maj. Gen. Sir Charles V. F. Townshend, the British officer, who defended Kut-el-Amara against the Turks, 63. . . . James Henry Cartwright, justice of Illinois Supreme Court, 81.

May 19.—Walter Clark, chief justice of North Carolina Supreme Court, noted legal writer, 77.

May 20.—John Harrison Rich, Minneapolis banker, 67. . . . Sir William Edward Goschen, British Ambassador at Berlin when the Great War began, 77.

May 21.—William Augustus Street, shipping expert, 81.

May 22.—Walter C. Stokes, banker, 72.

May 24.—Charles August Lindbergh, former Representative in Congress from Minnesota, 64.

May 25.—Alexander Billmyer, former Congressman, of Danville, Pa., 83.



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VICTOR HERBERT,  
THE COMPOSER

(Who, at the height of a notably prolific career, died suddenly at New York on May 26)

May 26.—Victor Herbert, the famous composer of light opera, 64. . . . Frederico Boyd, former President of Panama, 73. . . . Theodore Morse, song writer, 53.

May 27.—Aaron Hoffman, playwright, 43.

May 28.—Prof. John Leonard Baer, Pennsylvania naturalist, 50.

May 29.—Paul Cambon, noted French diplomat, 81. . . . Silas Wright Dunning, railroad economics expert, 85. . . . Charles Mason Fairbanks, journalist.

May 30.—Edwin Richard Redhead, paper manufacturer, 73. . . . Charles H. Cox, librarian of the Mercantile Library, New York, 65.

June 1.—Edward Wingate Hatch, New York lawyer and jurist, 72. . . . Logan C. Murray, banker, 79. . . . James Ward, author and artist, 73. . . . John Norton Pomeroy 2nd, noted equity jurist, 58.

June 2.—Rev. William Henry Griffith Thomas, D.D., well known churchman and teacher, of Philadelphia, 63.

June 3.—John Christian Freund, editor and publisher of *Musical America*, 76. . . . Bishop Homer Clyde Stuntz, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 66.

June 4.—Edward Clapp Shankland, noted Chicago civil engineer, 70. . . . Elmer Crockett, publisher of the South Bend (Ind.) *Tribune*, 80. . . . Hon. Jacob Bromwell, Ohio Mason and former Congressman.

June 5.—Bishop William Ford Nichols, of California, Episcopalian, 74.

June 7.—Edgar S. Bronson, widely known Oklahoma editor, 65. . . . Emile Claus, Belgian painter.

June 8.—Viscount Pirrie, noted Belfast ship-builder, 77. . . . William E. Weed, Utica, N. Y., editor, 56. . . . Dr. William B. Clarke, Pittsburgh author, editor, and physician, 76. . . . Robert Pateman, English actor, 84. . . . Lord Armaghdale (John Brownlee Lonsdale), Ulster politician, 74.

June 9.—Frederick Fanning Ayer, Boston lawyer and poet, 74. . . . Harry S. Brooks, editor, of Elmira, N. Y., 72. . . . George W. Banks, Philadelphia jeweler, 87. . . . Sir Mortimer Durand, British Ambassador to Washington in 1903, 74.

June 11.—Henry Seller McKee, leader in the glass industry, 84. . . . James Keating, journalist.

June 12.—Aubin L. Boulware, Jr., lawyer.

June 13.—David Ritchie McKee, journalist, formerly a noted Washington newspaper correspondent, 81. . . . Thomas Oakes, Bloomfield, N. J., woolen manufacturer, 86.

June 14.—Frank B. Gilbreth, noted mechanical engineer and author, 56. . . . Milton Nobles, actor, 76. . . . Albert N. Jones, wheat breeder, 81.

June 15.—Dr. Edwin E. Sparks, former head of Pennsylvania State College, 64.





# POLITICS: AT HOME AND ABROAD

SOME CARTOON SIDELIGHTS ON CURRENT SITUATIONS



PERHAPS HE HADN'T SUSPECTED A THING!

From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



UNDER PERSONAL SUPERVISION

From the Evening Post (New York)



IT'S THE WHOLE PLATFORM

From the News (Indianapolis, Ind.)



**SOME CONGRESSMEN EXPECT TO GET THERE ON THE PRESIDENT'S BACK**

From the Times (St. Louis, Mo.)



**NOT ENTIRELY SATISFACTORY, BUT BETTER THAN NO UMBRELLA AT ALL**

From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)



**THE PARADE DOESN'T SEEM TO FOLLOW THE DRUM-MAJOR**

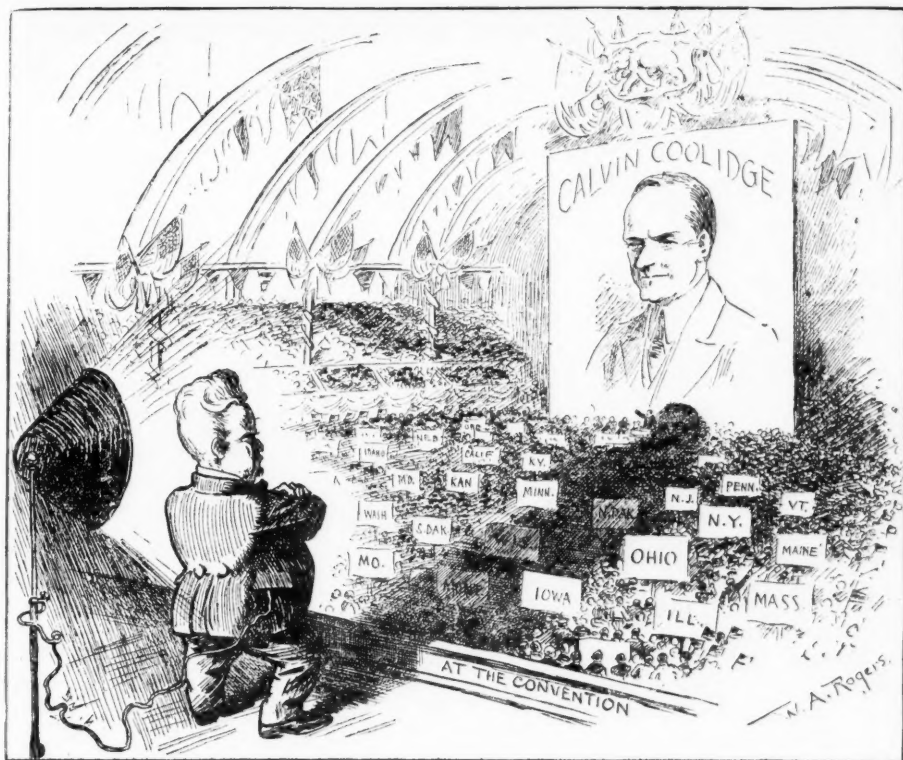
By Reynolds, in the Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)

THE President has, in general, been supported by the press in his recent controversies with Congress. For one thing, the cartoonist dearly loves to lampoon the law-makers whenever excuse offers itself. But the triumph of Mr. Coolidge in the primaries and at his party's national convention has seemed to furnish justification in the present instance.



**CONGRESS, AT THE CLEVELAND CONVENTION**

From the Evening World (New York)



THE SHADOW OF LA FOLLETTE—BUT IT'S JUST A LITTLE SHORT!

From the Post (Washington, D. C.)



TROUBLE AHEAD FOR THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT

From the Evening World (New York)



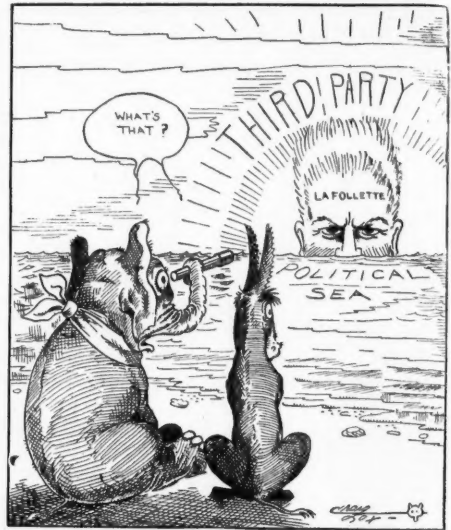
O-O-OH! THERE'S SOMETHING STIRRING IN THE WOODS!

From the Bee (Sacramento, Cal.)



IT MAY BE BETTER WHEN IT'S "BOBBED"  
From the Tribune (New York)

Before the Cleveland convention assembled, Senator La Follette laid down a set of conditions so far-reaching that the Republican leaders made no effort to fulfill them; and the country was permitted to assume that the Wisconsin Senator would bolt the ticket and head a third party which would be invited to gather around him. His leadership of a small group of mid-Western radicals—or progressives—had been a thorn



AN APPARITION THAT IS SEEN ON THE  
HORIZON OF THE POLITICAL SEA

From the Democrat & Chronicle (Rochester, N. Y.)

in the flesh of the Republican majority in Congress during the session just ended. Many have believed that a third party under La Follette would likewise ruin the Republicans' chance of success in the approaching election. On this page and the preceding one we reproduce a number of cartoons which look forward to a third-party movement headed by "Fighting Bob," the gentleman from Wisconsin.



HE CAN'T WIN, BUT HE CAN MAKE THE  
OTHERS WORRY

From the Tribune © (Chicago, Ill.)

[Has Senator La Follette made up his mind to enter this year's political race?]



GETTING USED TO IT  
From the Ledger (Newark, N. J.)





### STABBED IN THE BACK

From the Times (Los Angeles, Cal.)

[This California newspaper places the blame upon the Senator from that State, Hiram Johnson, who was then seeking—unsuccessfully—endorsement for the presidency]

The Democratic National Convention, in session at New York, will not be as quiet as was that of the Republicans. The campaign has served to antagonize the leading candidates, and it has long been rumored that the selection of a "dark horse" is the only possible outcome. Besides the nomination itself, the adoption of a platform also is



### THE NIGHTMARE

From the Capital (Topeka, Kans.)

expected to furnish material for debate. All in all, the one who seeks excitement may have remained away from Cleveland in the expectation that a visit to New York might be more worth while. National political conventions have a wide appeal.



### A PROBLEM FOR THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY

From the News (Omaha, Neb.)



WIELDING THE JAPANESE EXCLUSION AXE

[Why is it that a man will plant, care for, and cultivate a beautiful tree, and then in a moment destroy it?]

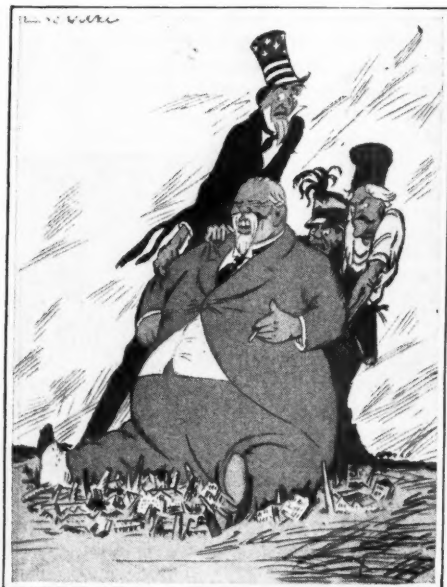
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)



UNCLE SAM RAISES HIS "IMMIGRATION LAW" UMBRELLA TO AVOID A SUNSTROKE

From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[The rising sun is the national emblem of Japan]



THE GREAT ALLIED STRUGGLE CONTINUES IN THE DOMAIN OF THE RUHR

From *Jugend* (Munich, Germany)

"Here I am and here I stay."

[Uncle Sam, the Italian Premier Mussolini, and the British Premier MacDonald are not yet succeeding in their efforts to have the Frenchman evacuate the occupied German regions]



A POUND-ARY OF FLESH

ANTONIO (Sir James Craig, of Ulster): "By my soul I swear There is no power in the tongue of man To alter me I stay here on my bond."

SHYLOCK (the Irish Free State): "Hould an there, me bhoy! That's moy spache! It's meself that says it in the book. All you've got to do is to kape on beggin' for mhercy—and not gettin' no!"—From the *Bystander* (London, England)



**WILL RAMSAY MACDONALD GET IT?**

From the *Passing Show* (London, England)

[Lloyd George, the Coalition premier, had failed, and so had Baldwin, the Conservative premier. A return of prosperity has been the dream of all governments in Britain since the war; but unemployment continues to be a real problem, for which a solution is not yet in sight. The Labor government of Ramsay MacDonald has been in office just half a year]

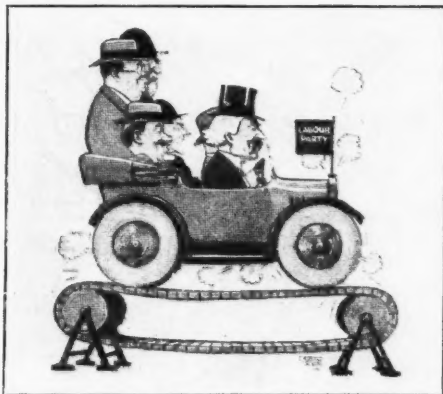


**THE ROLE OF THE BOY WHO SAVED HIS COUNTRY**

(From a General Election in this case)

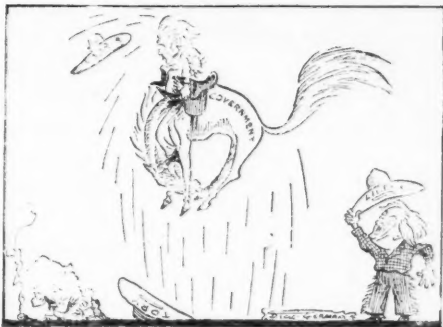
LYDD GEORGE: "Stopping up this hole in the political dyke is all very well, but I'd let go like a shot if I didn't well know I'd be drowned myself first go off."

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



**"GOODNESS, WHAT A PACE OUR LABOR GOVERNMENT IS SETTING!"**

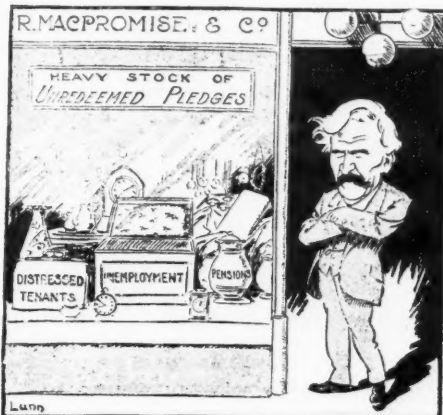
From *Opinion* (London, England)



**THE WESTMINSTER RODEO EXPERTS**

LYDD GEORGE: "Stick it, Ramsay! And when it's finished with you, Baldwin and I will have another go at it."

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



**UNCLE RAMSAY'S BUSY SEASON**

From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)

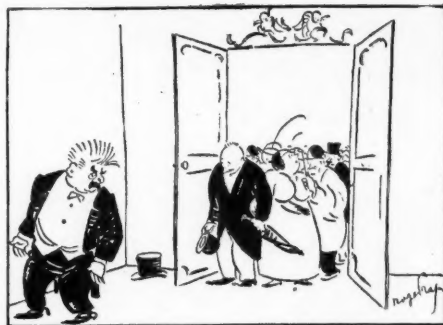


#### THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS UMBRELLA

THE FRENCH MARIANNE (to the British Premier): "Do you truly believe, then, my poor MacDonald, that that can protect us from the storm?"

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

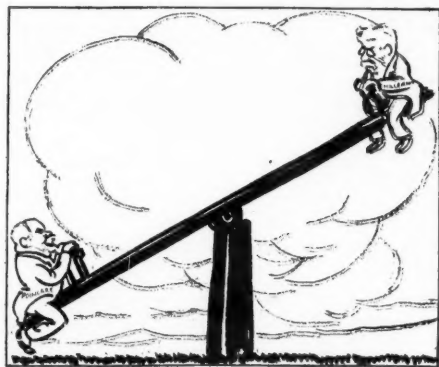
[The storm clouds are labeled "Germany," "Russia," "Bessarabia," "Rumania," and "Turkey"]



#### DISPOSSESSING A FRENCH PRESIDENT

"Pardon me, sir, have you a flat to let?"

From *L'Œuvre* (Paris, France)



#### THE FRENCH ELECTION RESULT

POINCARÉ (to Millerand): "Look out! I'm getting off!"

From *Notenkraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[When the French parliament reassembled, after the May elections, it became necessary for Premier Poincaré to resign; and the Radicals, by refusing to deal with President Millerand, forced his resignation also]



#### THE NEW GERMAN REICHSTAG

"What kind of blighters have they stuck on my back this time?"

From *Simplicissimus* (Munich, Bavaria)

[In the original German periodical the riders on President Ebert's back are colored in red. The reader will remember that one of the noteworthy results of the recent German elections was the increase in Communist strength in the Reichstag]



#### THE VOICE OF THE VOTE!

LA BELLE FRANCE (to Poincaré): "Away with you and your military rubbish!"

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



# THE SEEMING PARALYSIS OF PARLIAMENTS

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

## I. IN BRITAIN

LAST month I reviewed here the results of the French and German elections in their broader aspects. The passing of four weeks has disclosed other and not less interesting consequences. At the moment they took place the world was chiefly concerned with these elections as they were calculated to affect international relations, but the passage of time has disclosed the fact that on the domestic side the decisions of the voters are profoundly important. Indeed, the really outstanding fact about the past month has been the way in which domestic complications have made all international progress impossible.

Now this European situation, common to France, to Germany, and measurably to Great Britain, has more than a passing appeal to Americans at the present moment in our history. Congress, which has just adjourned, has in many ways revealed the effect of three-party legislative conditions, strikingly suggestive of the European bloc system. It is true that we have so far only two parties, but this is a nominal rather than a real statement of the existing situation; for the dissenting Republicans who have broken away from their party moorings and voted frequently with the Democrats, thus transforming a majority into a minority and paralyzing party government, must be compared to independent parties in European parliaments.

Moreover, and this is the significant fact, we have had here at home a touch of the bloc system and it has brought something approximating paralysis. The President has been defeated in almost all of his major recommendations, his party has lost control of both branches of Congress. There has been nothing which could remotely suggest the traditional responsible party government. And precisely at the same moment the bloc system in Europe has been

producing chaos, preventing progress, accomplishing in large things and in a complete fashion what the same thing has produced on our side of the Atlantic.

Now the conditions which obtained in the last Congress are, to be sure, wholly unparalleled. We have had nothing in our long history quite comparable with them. But the really perplexing question is whether we are not destined now to see at least one more Congress carrying similar burdens, whether in fact we are not ourselves perilously near to the arrival of the bloc system in place of the old two-party system with which we are more familiar.

Accepting the fact, which seems fairly well established, that we shall have a third-party movement this year, and that, given certain sectional disaffections, we may find the third party with a considerable representation in the new Congress, with the balance of power, then the examination of Europe under the bloc system has peculiar appositeness at the moment. What, then, is the European situation at the moment and as a consequence of recent elections, beginning with that in Great Britain last winter?

England offers on the whole a more exact illustration of what may be in store for us, because the British, like ourselves, have been living under the two-party system for an almost indefinite period. Although at one stage in the last century the Liberals ruled only by reason of the support of the Irish contingent to Westminster and this Irish contingent had a separate entity and a purpose divergent from that of the Liberals, yet, on the whole, the two parties had much in common and the association was natural, if at times uncomfortable and not always compatible.

Yet, roughly speaking, until the arrival of the World War, the Tories and the Liberals had alternately governed and no one had imagined a situation in which this

would be changed. When, as the war progressed, Coalition replaced party control, this seemed but the natural and temporary consequence of the war itself and the suspension of domestic division in the presence of foreign menace. Even when the war had ended in victory this coalition control continued, centered about Lloyd George, who had become the necessary man, so irreplaceable in common estimation at that time that mere party considerations were nothing by comparison.

But Coalition had many obvious defects, not the least of which was that as the two existing parties, which had hitherto divided power, fused and abandoned rivalry, it was inevitable that the discontent with this fusion administration should seek some other expression, that there should be a party of opposition. And there was left at the moment only Labor, which had so far been of small importance, but had not merged its fortunes or surrendered its right to criticize.

Indeed there were two processes which were equally bound to arrive: Not only would Coalition drive the critics and opponents to seek some new political home, but there was the certainty that at least one of the two parties to the Coalition, that necessarily which felt itself least content, would break away. Thus you had the secession of the Asquith Liberals from Coalition, which actually took away more than half of the Liberal contribution to the Coalition camp at once and, what was even more serious, split the Liberal party well-nigh hopelessly.

A similar split in the Tory party came presently. The great mass of the Tories had little love for Lloyd George and viewed with natural disquiet his obvious effort to create a middle party out of both Tory and Liberal following in Coalition and thus actually wreck both parties. So, toward the end of 1922, following the Near Eastern debacle of the Georgian policies, there came the famous Carlton Club conference, the emphatic decision of the great majority of the Tories against Coalition, and the fall of Lloyd George, followed by the arrival of the first party government since the beginning of the Great War.

But the election of 1922 saw the Liberal party hopelessly divided and as a consequence Labor now rose to the place of the official opposition. It had been, during the coalition period, the only real opposition,

despite its weakness. It had now profited by this fact and Ramsay MacDonald and not Mr. Asquith faced the Government on the opposition benches.

When Bonar Law, then dying, gave way to Stanley Baldwin and Baldwin made the fatal mistake of risking a new election, the verdict of 1922 was repeated, only this time Labor rose to new strength, while the Tories found themselves heavily defeated in the country and holding fewer seats than the Labor and Liberal parties combined. Thus if Labor and the Liberals voted together they would cast about 350 votes in a house of 615, against a round 260 for the Tories. And on this negative proposition of turning the enemy out, both the Liberals and the Laborites could and did combine.

As a consequence we now have in the British House of Commons a Labor Government, representing no more than 190 members in a house of 615, weaker materially than the Tories, who count 260, and able to remain in power only so long as it is supported by the larger part of the Liberal representation of 160. But, and here the American parallel becomes interesting, there is no more in common actually between Labor and the Liberals in Britain than there would be between a Democratic and a La Follette group in the next American Congress.

Negatively, that is, against the Republicans in Washington and against the Tories in London, the two groups could combine, but positively there could hardly be any large area of agreement and therefore little actual legislative achievement. Now in the present session of the House of Commons this has been the case. Labor, with a radical program, has been unable to achieve any of its avowed purposes because to the Liberals these avowed purposes are quite as abhorrent as to the Tories. As a consequence you have paralysis, save as the Liberals grudgingly allow the Labor cabinet the votes necessary to put through routine matters such as budget and army and navy programs.

Yet, despite all of its handicaps, there is every reason to believe that this three-party system has temporarily, at least, established itself and it is the settled opinion of both the Liberal and Tory leaders that if there were another general election at the present time, Labor would at least maintain its present seats in the House of Commons and no party would obtain a clear majority.

## II. IN FRANCE

I have dwelt upon the British situation first, because it is both the simplest and that most closely resembling our own, but it is only when one examines the French or the German situation that one has a real revelation of the possibilities of the bloc system, for then one has to deal not with three parties but with almost innumerable organizations. In France alone at the last election there were something like a dozen groups which had to be reckoned with, although for the moment they were conveniently grouped under two major headings, the Bloc National, which supported Poincaré, and the Bloc of the Left, which opposed him. In addition there were the Royalists at one extreme and the Communists at the other.

Glance now for a moment at the actual composition of the new Chamber of Deputies and something of the history of the past month will be disclosed. The Bloc National elected 249 members to the Chamber of Deputies, which counts at the moment 580 members, but will have 584 when the election is complete. On the other side the Bloc of the Left counts 280. Outside of either group are the Royalists, with 18 seats, and the Communists, with 31. Then, despite the fact of their victory, the Bloc of the Left have not a majority in the new Chamber. That would only be assured if they could enlist the votes of the Communists, and, since on the proposition of turning Poincaré out they could count on the Communists, Poincaré resigned in advance.

But now comes the question of a new ministry. Since Herriot is the leader of the largest of the several parties belonging to the Left Bloc, namely, the Radical and Radical Socialists, he is the normal selection for Premier. But this party counts only 141 votes. He must then have all of the votes of both the Republican Socialists, the party of Briand and Painlevé, with 35 votes, and the Socialists with 104, headed by Blum. Even then he will count but 280 votes, or eleven short of a majority in the Chamber at present.

But to get the 280 votes, that is, to hold together affirmatively that Bloc of the Left, which voted together negatively to expel Poincaré, Herriot has at once to begin bargaining. He must offer places to the Republican Socialists and thus get Painlevé

made President of the Chamber of Deputies. He must also accept principles from the Socialists who would not take office. And the first of the principles was, in fact, the pledge to turn out not merely the Prime Minister, Poincaré, but the President of the Republic, Millerand.

Herriot and his associates, while bitter against Millerand, who was an active enemy and an outspoken champion of the Bloc National, would have preferred to avoid this course, for Millerand was constitutionally President for a period of seven years and had done nothing which would warrant impeachment. But he had to yield and thus we had the constitutional crisis which was the outstanding feature of the past month, a crisis induced by the demands of the Socialists, without whose unanimous support Herriot could not even form a ministry.

The maneuverings between Millerand and his foes were not important. In accordance with the usual course the President called upon Herriot to form a ministry and Herriot declined. This in effect meant that the majority of the new Chamber, for the Communists supported this game, refused to form a ministry themselves and refused a vote of confidence to any ministry formed by a representative of the Bloc National, as long as Millerand stayed in the *Élysée* (the President's residence). Thus we had, in effect, a Legislature gone on a strike.

The situation was complicated further by the fact that the Senate is blessed with a majority belonging to the Bloc National. It therefore supported Millerand against the Chamber, up to a point, but it was not prepared to go to decisive lengths. The Socialists, then, have been able to precipitate a constitutional crisis and to expel a President, although they have only a little more than a sixth of the total membership of the new Chamber.

Meanwhile, however, Herriot's own position had become a bit compromised. Despite its name, his Radical party is not radical in our American sense and it contains not a few members who regret the constitutional crisis and deplore the spectacle of their own party being employed as the agent of the Socialists and momentarily serving the ends of the Communists by bringing the whole governmental machine into discredit. They are the more disturbed because they perceive also that this is only an earnest of what is to come,

for the 104 Socialist votes will always be necessary to the Herriot ministry and will always have to be purchased by costly concessions.

Thus you have at once the suggestion that at no distant time a new bloc will be formed. That is to say, another man, say Briand of the Republican Socialists, will undertake to form a combination with the Right, that is, with the Bloc National, now become the opposition. If, for example, Briand should succeed in carrying his Republican Socialist group over to the Bloc National, there at once would be 284 votes, which, allowing for certain inevitable desertions from the Radical party, would turn the trick.

Moreover, the fact is that such a ministry, headed by Briand, would far more accurately express the country than a Herriot ministry ruling in combination with the Socialists. What you have now is a moderate group able to control only in association with the more extreme Socialist party; what you would have then would be the same moderate party actually in control, but basing its hold upon an association with the Conservatives rather than the radicals, in our sense of this word radical.

Unquestionably France voted against Poincaré and his general course. The vote was not against any single policy, not even the Ruhr, but because the majority of the French people felt that Poincaré, at least at the moment, was involving France in new foreign troubles and at the same time was conducting domestic affairs badly. The revolt against Poincaré leadership was not without its resemblance to the American revolt against the late Woodrow Wilson four years ago.

Nevertheless, the Bloc National and the Royalists together captured not less than 207 seats in a house of 580, against 280 for the Bloc of the Left and 31 for the Communists. So the overturn was not by any means as far reaching as might be conjectured. And what is significant is that it was a vote *against*, just as our vote in 1920, was against, just as the recent British election disclosed a vote against the Tory rule. It was not in addition to a vote *for* any single personality or any definite program. You have even more difficulty then in building on the foundation of the Radicals and the Socialists than you have in constructing upon the base of a Labor-Liberal Union.

Herriot himself would just about satisfy the present mood of France. His party,

which is moderate, half way between the Socialists and the Bloc National, perhaps accurately discloses the present mood of France. But unhappily Herriot and his party represent only 141 votes in the new Chamber and he is condemned to make his bargain with the more radical and more extreme. And his first bargain is necessarily most expensive, because it involves nothing less than the decapitation of the President of the Republic and an open break with the Constitution itself.

Hence the extreme probability that at no distant date Briand, or some other moderate, will overturn Herriot, making a combination with the right rather than the left and then we shall have a ministry which fairly exactly expresses the temper of France at the moment. Herriot and his ministry will, and Herriot's victory with the Left Bloc has already achieved the negative will of France in overturning Poincaré. But, in my judgment, Herriot has already given too many hostages to fortune to stay long and he might even disappear into the Élysée following Millerand.

### III. THE NEW MEN

I shall not take space here to discuss personalities. Millerand was memorable before the present crisis, first because in the years preceding the war he was largely responsible for the rehabilitation of the army and did valuable service when recalled to the Ministry of War after the first defeats in 1914. At the close of the war Clemenceau sent him to organize French rule in the reconquered provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and handed on to him the post of Prime Minister when he himself retired from public life in 1919. As Prime Minister Millerand accomplished little, but he was soon promoted to the Presidency—or demoted—following the Polish crisis.

As President of the Republic Millerand undertook to give to the office an importance which it had never possessed. He was responsible for the overturning of Briand, during the Cannes conference with Lloyd George—an incident of note now, when Briand's party is sharing in the undertaking to expel Millerand from the Élysée. He called Poincaré to be Prime Minister and was the power behind the Ruhr occupation in the opinion of many well-informed Frenchmen.

Millerand's present difficulties are due to



this fact and to the further fact that he made political speeches in favor of the Bloc National during the recent campaign, thus breaking with the tradition which makes of the President of the French Republic nothing more than a figurehead and expects of him neutrality in domestic politics. It is natural, then, that the victorious Left should seek to complete its victory by getting rid of Millerand, as well as Poincaré, although, as I have said, this course has hardly had the enthusiastic approval of the more moderate members of the victorious Radicals belonging to Herriot's own party.

Of Herriot it is possible to say much less. He has been a figure in French politics for many years, although he is still comparatively young. As Mayor of Lyons, which disputes with Marseilles the second place among French cities, he has dominated his native city for a generation. In Paris he has been less conspicuous. A scholar, a man with a gift for making friends, he has always been held to lack the ultimate gifts of a leader, and accident rather than fitness has been responsible for making him a leader of the victorious combination which has at last beaten Poincaré. On the Ruhr occupation, for example, Herriot has been at best an acquiescent critic and he is very far from being an extreme radical. Ramsay MacDonald, for example, would probably find him a conservative.

Hitherto, save for a short span, when he earned no great distinction, Herriot has not been a member of any ministry—a rather unusual circumstance, which has been ascribed to his own perception of his limitations in this direction. As Prime Minister, if he ultimately forms a government, he is likely to avoid the outspoken and trouble-making bluntness of Poincaré. He will certainly seek to improve the atmosphere of international relations. Even in dealing with Germany he is bound to avoid harshness in word or in policy.

Yet at bottom he can hardly much change the policy of France. He has agreed in advance to the evacuation of the Ruhr when Germany accepts the Dawes report in obvious good faith. He is bound to work for a reduction of the period of service of the French conscripts from eighteen months to one year, which would actually reduce the army by about 100,000—that is, the active army. But in the presence of a recalcitrant Germany he could hardly accomplish much

and would be driven like all of his predecessors to take about the same line.

Painlevé, leader of the Republican Socialists and recently elected President of the Chamber of Deputies, is an even more puzzling figure. He is, perhaps, the greatest living mathematician and was a professor for years. They say in France that only Henri Poincaré, brother of the recent Premier, could discuss mathematics on the same plane with Painlevé, and when he died Painlevé went into politics because he had no one else with whom he could talk mathematics.

Early in the war Painlevé became minister of inventions and later in the Ribot Cabinet became Minister of War. There his career was marked by the Nivelle Affair. Painlevé doubted the ability of Nivelle to break the German lines in his prospective offensive on the Aisne in 1917. The soldiers charge that Painlevé interfered to break down Nivelle's hold upon his subordinates, but did not take the one necessary step and order the offensive to be abandoned. It was made and resulted in a disastrous check and the ultimate retirement of Nivelle, who died in March of the current year.

A terrible controversy raged and still rages about this affair, but immediately after it Painlevé became Prime Minister and after a brief and inglorious career gave way to Clemenceau. For a time his political career seemed terminated, although he vigorously defended himself in many articles and several books. But like Malvy, who was much more gravely compromised, since his patriotism was called into question, Painlevé has come back to influence and has been frequently discussed as successor to Millerand.

As for Briand, to whom most Frenchmen are now looking as the real coming man, there is little to add to the record already known by everyone. He has already had eight ministries. His last fall was due in no small degree to his failure at the Washington Conference, although he also lost his hold upon his fellow countrymen because of the general belief that he was incapable of holding his own with Lloyd George. Millerand's dramatic interference at Cannes, to which I have already referred, was the final scene in the last Briand ministry.

If Briand comes back now, he is sure to bend his energies to a restoration of Anglo-French association and he is, perhaps, the

most popular of French statesmen in Britain. Like Herriot, too, he would probably agree to the admission of Germany into the League of Nations. On the whole his foreign policy would aim at conciliation and particularly at conciliation both with Britain and the United States. All things considered, he would probably deal somewhat more severely with Germany, but while his general course might resemble that of Poincaré, since he also assented to the occupation of the Ruhr, his manner would be quite different.

Speaking of Poincaré and Briand, one recalls the *mot* of Clemenceau, who said of the former, "He knows everything and can do nothing," and of the latter, "He knows nothing and can do everything." Briand, unlike Painlevé, Herriot and Poincaré, is a great politician and a great parliamentarian. Indeed Lloyd George is perhaps his only superior in this direction among living men and he remains the great orator of France.

All European observers have agreed in the verdict that the new French Chamber is, after all, a fairly close repetition of that which was in session when the World War actually broke. It was a Chamber committed to many extremely liberal policies, not the least important of which was the reduction of the army through the shortening of the three-year period of service then in force. Happily, in view of what was to occur, it did not have time to carry out this purpose.

This new French Chamber is, too, far more like the present British House of Commons than the preceding, and something of the same process has taken place in both countries. The essential difference is, however, that the French are far more accustomed to the bloc system than the British and are able to make it function, although not at once. Thus the old Chamber tried several ministries before it got Poincaré and then backed him with the Bloc National. Poincaré was the man who did express the old Chamber and when he came he lasted as long as it did. Briand, on the other hand, perhaps best expresses the spirit of the new Chamber and it is for this reason that his coming is expected. But meantime the necessary preliminaries are holding back European settlement through the application of the Dawes Report. It is here that the main defect of the bloc system is most clearly revealed.

#### IV. MILLERAND'S RESIGNATION

The resignation of President Millerand was announced on June 11. Since his defeat was expected there is no real surprise in the way the struggle with the French Chamber has terminated, although the President's failure to hold his supporters in the Senate is rather unexpected. Obviously the members of the French upper chamber decided against an open combat with the lower house, which could have but one termination.

More surprising is the strength of the Left, which polled 319 votes on the test motion, although the Bloc of the Left counts only 280 and, with the Communists added, only 311. Equally disappointing for Millerand was the failure of the Bloc National to rally more than 214 of their 240 members, or of the 267 conservatives, if the Royalist group be added. After such a defeat there was nothing left for Millerand but to surrender.

Since six of the eleven Presidents of the Third Republic have resigned there is nothing novel in the present affair. Nor will the consequences be very great. Millerand has failed to make the French Presidency a post comparable with the American. Others have tried and failed similarly. His successor, Gaston Doumergue (elected on June 13), will be content to take the office and avoid any fatal pursuit of power.

Had Millerand remained in the *Élysée* it is fairly certain that he would have continued to use the influence which he had, great or little, to block the policies of the victorious radicals. That is why his expulsion was the logical, and perhaps inevitable, corollary of the radical victory at the polls.

Now that the storm is over Herriot can go ahead and form a ministry and it will doubtless poll a good majority when it faces the Chamber. Herriot can then reopen the discussions with Ramsay MacDonald over reparations and the general European settlement on the lines of the Dawes Report.

The whole Millerand affair is little more than added emphasis to the victory of the French radicals. They will now have a chance to display their ability in the much more difficult task of framing positive programs. But Herriot's tenure of office will probably depend upon the will of Briand, who actually steered the operation of removing

Millerand's political head. It will also depend upon events in Germany, for France is sure to turn away from the Left and go back to the conservative and nationalistic camp if the moderate methods advocated by Herriot prove as unsuccessful as the more violent ways of Poincaré seemed to the French electorate recently.

## V. IN GERMANY

Turning now to the German situation, the month has seen something of the same paralysis in Berlin as in Paris. The problem of the organization of the new Reichstag has proven no less difficult than that of adjusting the new Chamber of Deputies. In a sense the German election was less decisive than the French. In the latter case the control of the House passed from the right to the left, from the Bloc National to the Bloc of the Left.

In Germany, by contrasts, while sweeping gains were made by the two extremes, the Nationalists and the Communists, a majority remained with the moderate parties, which with the Socialists supported the Marx-Stresemann Cabinet which was actually in power when the election was held. The figures of the Reichstag, like those of the French Chamber, are worth keeping in view, for all turns upon them for months and perhaps for years to come.

In the new Reichstag the Moderate Bloc, the bourgeoisie parties collectively, held 137 seats, divided as follows: Center, 65, Peoples 44, Democratic 28. Supported by the Socialists, who retained an even hundred seats, this combination would thus control 237 seats—one more than a clear majority in a body of 471. This Bloc might also look for aid from some members of the Bavarian Peoples Party, an offshoot of the Center, with 16 seats, but the outside strength of the combination would be 253.

By contrast, the two reactionary parties, the Nationalist and the Voelkische, captured 128 seats, 96 and 32, respectively. The Communists gained 62 and the remaining 28 were scattered among various minor groups. Now exactly as the Communists in France are prepared to vote with the moderates, that is, the Bloc of the Left, to turn out Poincaré, the Communists in Germany are ready to vote against the existing Marx-Stresemann Cabinet, and the strength of the opposition is thus 190. Oddly enough

these two figures, 237 for the Government and 190 against it, were tallied when the question of confidence in the Marx-Stresemann Ministry was raised on the gathering of the Reichstag, while approval of the Dawes report as basis of negotiation was voted 247 to 190.

But at the outset the situation of the moderate parties in Germany was not wholly dissimilar from that of the same school in France. The real victory at the election had been won by the Nationalist and the Voelkische parties. The Moderate parties, accordingly were far more inclined to turn to the right than to the left and for them the formation of a bloc with the Nationalists was a more natural and rational step than to combine with the Socialists. As the Nationalists could bring 96 votes of their own, as against 100 for the Socialists, and would also carry with them most if not all of the Voelkische party, such a coalition of the Middle and the Right would represent 281 votes in a house of 471 and leave the Socialists and the Communists in the opposition with 162 votes.

All the preliminary consultations, therefore, were between the moderate parties and the Nationalists and every effort was made to bring about a fusion. All these efforts failed because the Nationalists were in no mood to compromise. They were prepared to join a coalition only on their own terms, the first article of which was the right to name either Admiral von Tirpitz or former Chancellor von Buelow to head the new government. In addition the Nationalists were not prepared to accept the Dawes Report, save with such extensive conditions as to make acceptance really rejection.

Thus, in the end, the moderates were driven to align themselves behind the old Marx-Stresemann Ministry, to accept the Socialists as allies, and on this basis they just managed to pull through, polling 237 votes. For the Dawes Report, which they also compelled the new house to vote upon, they polled 237 votes, while against the government and against the Dawes plan the opposition, made up of the Voelkische, Nationalist and Communist parties, polled their 190 votes solidly.

The adoption of the Dawes Report, however, was only a partial victory, for actual acceptance involves changes in the German Constitution which can only be made with the assent of two-thirds of the Reichstag,

that is, by 315 affirmative votes, whereas the supporters of the Dawes plan could muster only 237. Thus, as the situation stands, the opposition has it in its power and has announced its purpose to prevent constitutional changes.

The Marx-Stresemann Ministry sees the international situation as it is. It perceives that a German rejection of the Dawes plan would leave Germany in a hopeless position, so far as foreign loans are concerned, and along with the material would go the moral disadvantages, for the German Ministers correctly estimate the extent of British and American disapprobation if the new proposals should fall through because of German intransigence. They recognize that the sole way that Germany can get the vitally necessary foreign credits is by satisfying precisely the nations which would be the most angered if the Dawes Report were rejected.

But the Nationalist and the Voelkische parties have made their successful campaign—successful since they gained many seats—on a denunciation of the Dawes plan and they stand committed to oppose it. Moreover the Communists are out to prevent anything positive and are certain to maintain their opposition. Thus it is patent that if the Nationalists continue in their present purpose the Dawes Report is doomed.

Yet it is too early to forecast such an unfortunate turn for there are imponderables in the situation. The French election has not turned out as the German Nationalists hoped and expected. The defeat of Poincaré has had a marked influence upon German sentiment and has contributed not a little to breaking down the Nationalist assertion that France was out to destroy Germany and Poincaré was the approved exponent of French spirit and purpose. Unless the crisis in the French Chamber shall give new hope to those Germans who are frankly out to evade reparations, then, there is an obvious chance that in the end the problem may be solved.

If Germany rejects the Dawes plan, then British and American sentiment will be roused against Germany, and, as I have said before, neither American nor British capital will be available for Germany. That means in a brief time the inevitable collapse of the rentenmark and a new currency crash in Germany with all the attendant dislocations of business and finance. And

it will serve as a striking confirmation of the arguments on which Poincaré based his policy.

Looking at the French Chamber, it is easy to see that such a turn in German policy will have immediate repercussions. The Bloc National, with its 267 votes, including the handful of Royalists, would need to enlist but 26 votes from the Left, from the Radicals and the Republican Socialists, to regain control. And it requires no long consideration to perceive that such a transformation would take place in the French Chamber, once Germany disclosed her purpose to reject the Dawes Report.

The German situation is, then, not only critical, so far as world settlement is concerned, but it is also exceedingly critical for the Germans themselves. France and Great Britain have both marched a long distance in the direction of liberal views. They have both given striking evidence of the passing of the war mood. And in the domestic changes the two countries have again been brought reasonably close together. The new French Prime Minister and the present British Premier will be able to talk with better mutual understanding and better actual results than any two similar executives since the collapse of the Briand-Lloyd George Conference at Cannes.

If Germany now wrecks the Dawes program, French retirement from the Ruhr ceases even to be thinkable. British pressure upon France to take such a step can hardly be continued and there is every reason to think that America, having come back to Europe, unofficially to be sure, through the Dawes Committee, will retire again, holding Germany responsible for the failure of a plan which was largely made by American hands and has met with general American approval.

Perhaps the best possible solution of the present problem might be a new election in Germany, which is at least conceivable. In the recent election Germany voted on the basis of Poincaré and the alleged French purpose to stay in the Ruhr and to dismember Germany. The overthrow of Poincaré and the promise of Herriot to retire from the Ruhr, once Germany has accepted the Dawes Report, acceptance involving the constitutional changes which the Nationalists and Communists can block, if they choose, has changed every-



Short of a new election, all turns upon the temper of the Nationalists. Admiral von Tirpitz, their leader and candidate for Chancellor, despite his evil reputation in the Allied world, is very far from being a fool—a thing which cannot be said for Ludendorff, so far as national and international politics are concerned. Not impossibly he will be able to find a way by which he can comply with the French terms and at the same time claim credit at home for getting the French out of the Ruhr.

At best, however, the situation has become obscure as a consequence of the German elections and the domestic complications incident to the bloc system. In Germany, as in France, the moderate center is forced to make an alliance with the Socialist Left. In both countries such a marriage of convenience holds little promise of permanence. In both countries there is sound reason for believing that in the end a new ministry will emerge, representing a combination of moderates and conservatives.

For the moment, however, all is confusion in both countries and the prospects of any speedy solution of the economic and financial problems, through the application of the Dawes Report, are far from bright. That report was completed in April. It will be July before it can be considered in any international conference and the negotiations, when such a conference assembles, promise to be long and difficult.

Moreover, to revert to the domestic political situation in the three great countries most concerned, MacDonald is a minority Premier and may fall at any moment when the Liberals tire of backing him. If this should take place a new general election in Britain would be inevitable and this would mean further delays. Herriot, even if he is able to form a ministry in France, can hardly last long, while the Marx-Stresemann Ministry seems even more certain to be shortlived.

Of course, in a sense, this dominance of domestic politics is a sign of the arrival of peace. In all countries domestic political divisions were abandoned during the struggle and in effect all three countries were controlled by coalition ministries. The fact that men—and women in Germany and Britain—are going back to ante-bellum political alignments indicates that the necessity and passion which made unity

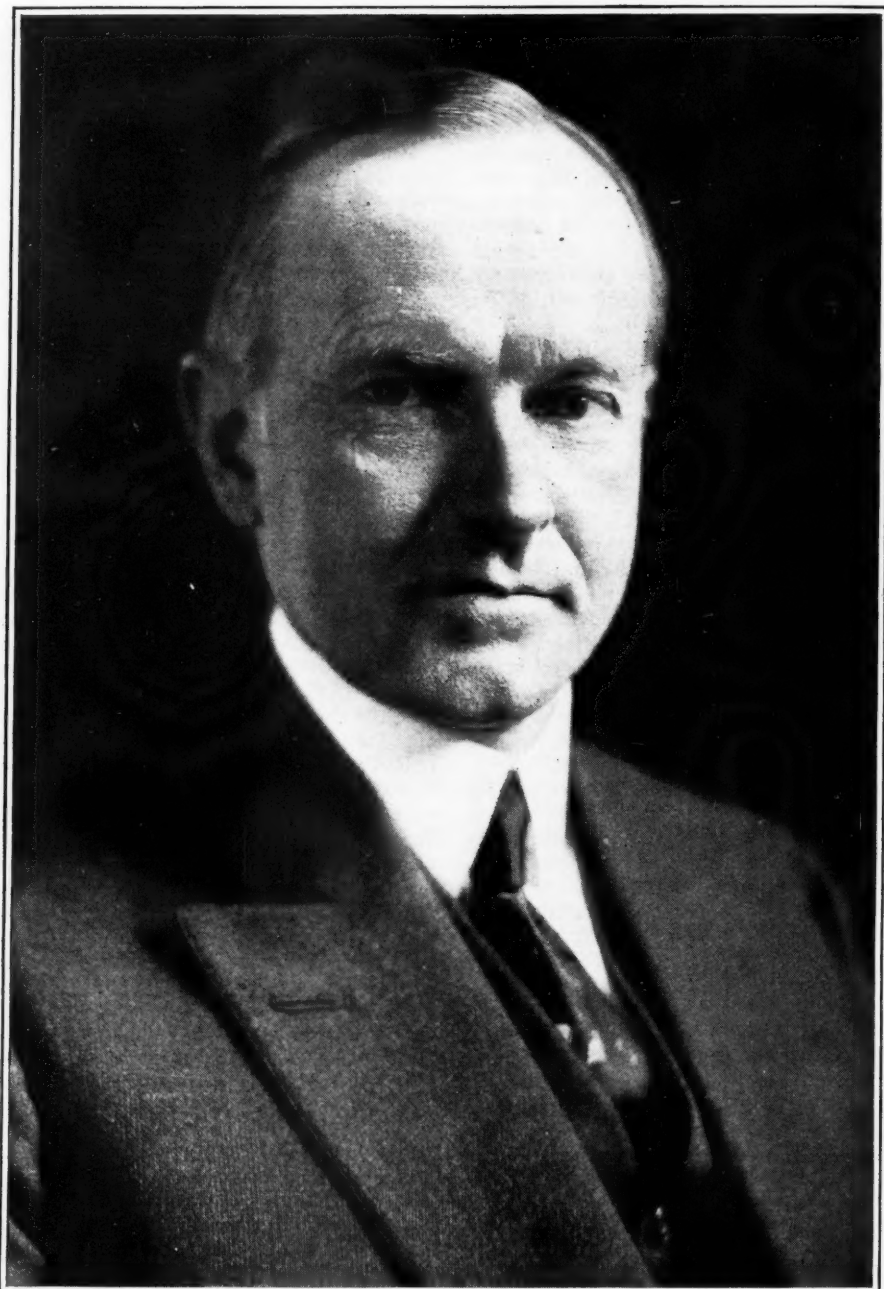
essential in war time have passed. Nevertheless the effect of this relapse, coming at a critical moment, so far as international relations are concerned, is annoying and may be extremely expensive.

And, as I said in the beginning of this article, the fact that the last Congress was controlled by a combination of the Republican insurgents with the Democrats and the further fact that we seem threatened with a third-party movement in the coming campaign, gives particular value to the examination of the working of similar conditions in Europe at the present hour. In the past we have pretty consistently adhered to the two-party system and the platforms of the two parties have given a fair indication of the policies to be expected.

If, however, the balance of power in the new Congress passes to a third party, then we must expect to see this third party, which will be radical, dictating its terms either to the Democrats or the Republicans, as the Socialists in France are driving the more moderate parties of the Left into the campaign for the political head of the President of the Republic. And in our own case the third party might be able, instead of forcing the ousting of a President, actually to dictate in the matter of choosing a new President.

It is worth while, too, to consider that Italy, wearied with the incoherences of precisely this same bloc system, has deliberately thrown herself into the arms of a dictator to escape fatal paralysis, such as threatens in at least three other great powers in Europe. Mussolini, after all, is only one more consequence of the paralysis which has attacked all European parliaments and at least threatens our own Congress.

I shall reserve until next month a discussion of the Russo-Rumanian crisis over Bessarabia, with its very far-reaching European complications. Despite all the alarms, I hardly think that war will result at the present time, for the Soviet régime is more anxious to enlist foreign loans than to risk a new war, which at the very least would close all avenues to foreign capital. What is serious about the Bessarabian dispute, as about the similar Vilna quarrel between Poland and Lithuania, is that it will continue until it is disposed of, to menace peace and to maintain an area of unrest and provide an enduring and even increasing menace of eventual hostilities.



From a photograph taken at the White House especially for THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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**PRESIDENT CALVIN COOLIDGE, NOMINATED FOR A NEW FOUR-YEAR TERM  
ON THE FIRST BALLOT IN THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION AT  
CLEVELAND ON JUNE 12**

# CALVIN COOLIDGE—A UNIQUE POLITICAL FIGURE

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

## I. Background and Inheritance

CALVIN COOLIDGE'S unopposed nomination by the Republican Convention at Cleveland to succeed himself in the Presidency marks the end of an interesting episode in political history. Ten months earlier he had succeeded to the Executive Office following the death of President Harding. At that time he was curiously little-known; almost a man of mystery, as indeed he was often denominated. Since that time he has been the central figure in two contests: one for the support of Congress in his legislative program, the other for the support of the public in his aspiration to succeed himself. His success with Congress has been decidedly qualified; with the public, as attested by the primaries and the national convention, it has been sweeping and unqualified.

Here is a paradox which, though not without precedents, deserves examination. Not to go farther back, Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt had their troubles with Congress, despite that they were strong with the people. But neither case stands parallel with that of President Coolidge, though Roosevelt's case is most like it. Roosevelt, like Coolidge, came to the Presidency through the death of his chief; but their inheritances were very different. Mr. Roosevelt succeeded a President who had served a term to the eminent satisfaction of the country, and had just received the confidence-vote of sweeping reelection. He had a Congress overwhelmingly of his own party in both branches. He was able largely to propitiate the powerful Congressional opposition to himself personally by a prompt declaration that he should adhere to the McKinley policies.

On the other hand, Mr. Coolidge succeeded a President whose administration had become the object of much criticism in

both his own party and that of opposition. The election of the preceding autumn had amounted to a disaster, sending up a Congress which could not in either branch be relied upon to support the administration. Mr. Harding had known that he could only secure a renomination by fighting for it; and that if nominated, his reelection would be had only on the same terms. The storm clouds were already gathering thick about him long before the end of his second Congress session. The tongue of rumor was busy with tales of inefficient administration, betrayals of public interest, lamentable consequences upon unwise selections of subordinates, hints of scandal and insinuations of graft. Mr. Harding was charged with bad judgment in choosing highly responsible lieutenants, and too much loyalty toward them when they were under suspicion. He was accused of being too conservative for the times, of having too limited a view of after-war problems. Before his administration was a half-year old, many leaders of his party were already becoming disaffected. Having nominated him in confidence that he was one of them and would "play the game" to their satisfaction, they felt that he had proved a poor politician, and had been too little disposed to take advice from or cooperate with them.

Much of what happened to disappoint the politicians ought to have been highly creditable to President Harding. For one thing, he was painfully unresponsive to the demand for appointments to office. He had been expected to assume the most lenient attitude toward the Civil Service laws, and to go as far as possible in opening places on the Government pay-roll to good party workers. Few incoming administrations have ever faced such a pressure for office. The Government pay-roll had been

expanded and salaries advanced during the war. When Mr. Harding came in times were hard and the possibility of Government employment was alluring to many who in other circumstances would not have sought it. Their disappointment, when it began to be realized that the official lists were not to be thrown wide open, was the first occasion for widespread criticism; and, coming from his own party, it early loosed the bonds of party fealty. Many public men who could not reasonably be charged with the attitude of the mere spoilsman, protested in all sincerity that it was a mistake to leave so many people in important positions under the Government who were not in sympathy with the responsible party. The truth was that Mr. Harding was not much of a spoilsman even in the beginning, and became less and less of one as he accumulated experience as Chief Executive. His disappointment of the politicians and of the office-seekers in this regard marked the first step in the relaxation of his hold on his own party.

When he did make appointments to office, Mr. Harding was hardly more fortunate. He had been almost a "dark-horse" candidate for the nomination, and came to the White House with his hands comparatively free of embarrassing pledges. His misfortune was an excessive loyalty to those who convinced him that they had been his supporters at a time when he seemed to have little chance of nomination. The sheer loyalty and amiability which were his most attractive traits made him want to stand by these friends. Many of them did not deserve the consideration they got, but they made him believe they did, and the results constituted a fruitful source of trouble in his administration. A large proportion of the "personal appointments" were unfortunate ones.

When it came to broad public policies, Mr. Harding found himself in a hard position. He was looked upon as representing the most conservative element of the party, as completely immune from any sympathy with political and social "radicalism" and "experimentation." The controlling Republican leadership believed that this was the sort of President, the sort of administration, that the country wanted. Probably the large majority of people most concerned and most influential in both politics and business were of that view. Most people failed to realize that the world's after-war reconstruction would be

so slow and difficult as it has proved. They wanted to believe that things would presently come around all right, if the country would just keep aloof from old-world entanglements. Neither the bigness nor the complexity of the task was appreciated. The long and illuminating discussion of the Versailles Treaty had so emphasized the danger of involvements with Europe as somewhat to obscure in the public mind the necessity for coöperation with Europe in order to promote rehabilitation. President Harding, with his opportunity for the fullest information, realized the impossibility of aloofness, and early saw that to lead popular sentiment around to a more moderate view was going to be slow and difficult; yet he knew it must be done.

This is not the time to analyze the factors that contributed to a considerable disruption of confidence in the Harding Administration during its first two years. The President had been expected to be adept at getting along with Congress. He did not prove so. He was looked upon as of the McKinley type; a gracious and amiable gentleman who would placate all elements and hold his party firmly together. But the times were not McKinley times. There was a fearful complication of problems, domestic and foreign, social and business. It is easy enough now, and it will be far easier a decade or two hence, to look back and say quite confidently that if Mr. Harding's Administration had gone vigorously ahead and done thus and so and thus and so, things might have turned out better. But neither America nor Europe was ready to have those things done.

It was inevitable that any administration coming into power when Mr. Harding's did, should experience much of disappointment. The President knew this, and so did the seasoned leaders of both political parties. Indeed, when it became apparent that the Congressional elections of 1922 would mark a great revulsion, and that the Democrats might gain control of Congress, many democratic leaders frankly hoped this would not happen. They yearned for no share in responsibility for the disappointments that they knew were unavoidable.

As it turned out, the Republicans lost heavily, though retaining nominal control of both House and Senate. But it was only nominal. In each house there was a small group who, though counted as Republicans, were the hardest critics and opponents of



the administration. They were prompt to blame the administration and to oppose its policies. This group, representing the left wing of the party, was soon found to have one purpose in common with some of the extreme right wing. That was to oppose Mr. Harding's renomination; the left wing on the ground that his program was not progressive enough and that his administration lacked grasp of its problems; the others on the ground that his political management had been bad and his leader-

ship ineffective. Thus the lines were forming for a contest within the party, even before the beginning of the epoch of investigations and scandal-mongering that in recent months has so largely absorbed the attention of Congress and the country. What effect these things would have exerted on the fortunes of President Harding, had he lived to face them, can only be conjectured. It is enough to recall that even before the investigations began, his administration was already under attack.

## II. A Real Leader Emerges

So much of the political background that had been set up before Mr. Coolidge became President, needs to be kept in view in any consideration of the remarkable change which has since come over the face of affairs. As Vice-President, he had been an inconspicuous figure, as Vice-Presidents traditionally have been. It had even been in the minds of some party leaders that he represented so few elements of political strength that it might be desirable to nominate some other and more appealing candidate for second place in 1924. The full measure of his growth in strength and political authority cannot be recognized unless all these factors are considered. In ten months as President he has lifted himself from the status of a Vice-President with limited national following or recognized strength, to the unquestioned domination of his party. He has won its nomination, dictated its declaration of principles, and reorganized its machinery in the firm control of his supporters. All this, moreover, in face of both the Congressional investigations and the fact that Congress absolutely rejected his leadership in regard to various of the most pressing issues. It is a truly amazing achievement, attesting that the character and methods of Calvin Coolidge represent a unique power of appeal for public confidence.

Without pretense to the arts which are assumed to appeal for popularity, he has won it. In an atmosphere charged with suspicion as to the sincerity of men's motives and even the honesty of their official acts, his sincerity, his honesty, and his courage have stood above and beyond all possibility of suspicion. He has not had to proclaim them. In a time in which a Roosevelt

would have had much to say, and would have said it effectively and inspirationally, about the necessity to restore a proper sense of moral values in public affairs, Mr. Coolidge has been content to let his acts speak for him; and these acts have impressed the public as representing the very essence of solid public morality. Where a more vocal person might have convinced his public that he looked upon honesty as the best *policy*, Coolidge has seemingly convinced the people that in his make-up there is no alternative to honesty; that he could not be dishonest, because in his composition the element of potential dishonesty had been omitted. A visitor would talk to him for a time, and perhaps not elicit more than a half-dozen words from him, and those merely by way of drawing out the caller's views. No difference; that visitor would go away with the firm conviction that Coolidge was a totally new sort, a person from whose make-up the convenient talent of protective coloration, on the moral side, had been omitted. Call it whatever you like—disingenuousness, or insincerity, or duplicity, or plain dishonesty—Coolidge without any effort always convinced folks that he utterly lacked it.

In the early weeks of his Presidency the gradual development of this picture did not seem to enlist for him much of approbation or enthusiasm. People talked about this strangely lop-sided development in a way that suggested more of sympathy than of admiration for a man so oddly afflicted. They feared it was going to be mighty hard for a man of such simple, un-complex parts to get along in the atmosphere of indirection, subtlety, and design in which his lines had been cast

Here he was, pitchforked into a vast political ferment, completely without armament or arms of cunning, contrivance, and intrigue. Could he survive such a trial? The notion that an army of politicians, hard-boiled and uncompromising, would be outgeneraled by the sheer simplicity and straightforwardness of such a man, was not to be accepted until the amazing evidence had begun to accumulate in impressive array. Janus, not merely looking both ways but prepared to move either way, both ways, or in a circle, was surely not to be outmaneuvered by an antagonist limited to looking and moving in only one direction—right ahead.

That seemed to be the reasoning of a good share of people who went to see him, and who judged by what they saw and what he did not say.

But President Coolidge was not so guileless as he sometimes looked when it suited his purposes to look that way. Nor was he so uproariously silent, so eloquently uncommunicative, when it seemed worth while to talk. The legend of a Coolidge who could not or would not talk, or maybe both, had no more than acquired general acceptance than it had to be called in for revision. It seemed that he could talk when he chose, and very pointedly; although talking was

not his favorite diversion. The first revised edition of the legend placed listening at the top of his list of accomplishments; after that, thinking; and talking came in, still a poor third but among those present. Then some more time passed, and with it further developments that called for more revision; and at length the category of talents listed them in perhaps this order:

*Listening.*

*Thinking.*

*Managing not to listen when it was merely waste of time.*

*Plodding through a vast mass of routine work.*

*Finding time and saving energy to gather, rather mysteriously, an amazing amount of specific and strictly relevant information.*

*Digesting the information with the aid of certain potent mental fluids which his apparatus of intellectual digestion supplied, and which appeared to be based on a set of firmly held, simple and exasperatingly logical general principles.*

*Deciding—when he was satisfied he had seen all sides and duly weighed all factors.*

*Acting promptly, vigorously and directly—when ready and not sooner.*

*Talking just as much as was necessary to work him through the foregoing process, but always with a parsimony of words that gave them peculiar effectiveness.*

### III. A Winning Fight for the Nomination

Very soon after he became President he indicated that he was so occupied with the duties of that place that he would have no time for the question of succeeding himself. On that point he talked less, and seemed to be thinking less, than anybody else in political Washington. Nevertheless, it got about that persons who wanted to support him for the next term would be in no danger of disappointment through his refusal to serve. His political friends—and they presently began to appear in impressive strength—quickly made plain that they expected him to be nominated as his own successor; and it was observed that no rebukes were visited upon them from the White House. Party leaders who foresaw that disastrous consequences might follow a bitter contest for the nomination, declared for him. It was recognized that the party would have to stand on the record of the Harding and Coolidge administra-

tions, and that gave a strong impetus to the early Coolidge movement. The new President announced his determination to continue the policies of the Harding administration; and the Harding Cabinet was retained.

Mr. Coolidge became President at the beginning of August. Congress was not in session and the voice of opposition lacked the parliamentary sounding board which Congress alone could have provided. The result was that in the four months between Mr. Coolidge's accession and the meeting of Congress, the possibility of a united opposition—or even of an effective group of oppositions—was pretty well dissipated. Men who might have been brought out as the favorite sons of their various States, rapidly lost interest in the chances of such a gamble as they saw the tide of popular opinion rising in behalf of the quiet man in the White House. Men of political weight,



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**MRS. CALVIN COOLIDGE AND THE TWO COOLIDGE BOYS**

(John, the elder son, at the left of the picture, was graduated from Mercersburg Academy last month and will enter Amherst, his father's college, in the fall. Calvin, the younger son, remains at Mercersburg another year)

and men of significance in the business world, came out for Mr. Coolidge in such numbers that the potential "favorite sons" presently found their situation discouraging. It looked as if the people, seeing their chance, had decided to beat the politicians to it. There was a very apparent hostility to the idea of turning the Republican party

over to a great struggle among the politicians. The party's rank and file had sharply in its mind's eye the picture of the 1920 convention and was not disposed to encourage a repetition of that experience. Mr. Coolidge was thought of as a conscientious and single-minded administrator with whom the country would be safe; not as a

politician. The mass of Republicans had little stomach for a series of political struggles, first for nomination and then for election, that would last considerably over a year.

So it came about that when Congress met at the beginning of last December, ready to claim the public ear, it was found that the nomination was well on the way to decision in favor of Mr. Coolidge. One by one the possible candidates had taken themselves out of the consideration, until finally there remained only Senator Hiram Johnson of California to contest for the party leadership. Mr. Johnson had been a star of first magnitude in the political firmament from a time long antedating the appearance of Mr. Coolidge. He had been a spectacular, anti-machine Governor of California, and in 1912 had been the Progressive nominee for Vice-President on the Roosevelt ticket. Then he had come to the Senate, and there had taken a leading part among the irconcilables who rejected the Wilson League of Nations program and prevented ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. He had been a candidate for the Presidential nomination in 1920, and had developed an impressive strength, carrying a large proportion of the States that had primary laws and receiving 148 votes in the convention.

His candidacy for the 1924 nomination was, of course, based on the hope that he would be able to repeat his primary successes of 1920, and that this demonstration of popular strength would convince the party leaders that he ought to be nominated. These same leaders had rejected him in 1920 despite his showing in the primaries; but his supporters hoped that this antagonism might have moderated in the intervening four years. Viewed as a purely political program, the theory was by no means unpromising; but it failed to take into account, first, the astonishing growth of Calvin Coolidge in public confidence; or second, the fact that there indubitably had been a revulsion against political control. Whatever else might be thought of him and his claims, in the public mind Senator Johnson personified the politician. He had been a hard hitter and a hard fighter from the early days of his contest with the old California organization right down to date. His fights had won him legions of friends and admirers; but they had also established for him a repute for belligerency, bitterness, and incapacity to compromise.

The event, in State after State where the Coolidge and Johnson claims were opposed to each other, showed that the people wanted a President of the Coolidge type rather than of the Johnson sort. Mr. Coolidge might not inspire great enthusiasm; but neither did he inspire deep-seated hostilities and antagonisms, of which Senator Johnson throughout his career had been peculiarly the personification. The country had had its fill of personal and political violence and extremism, of which there had been almost no cessation since 1918. The result was that, with the sole exception of South Dakota, the primary States were one by one carried by Mr. Coolidge; the rest lined up for him almost by common consent; and the climax came when President Coolidge carried Senator Johnson's own State of California in its primary.

But the mere statement of these pre-convention results does not convey a full impression of the real Coolidge victory. Just about simultaneously with the opening of the contest to control the delegations, the country began to receive a series of shocks, due to the revelations of the Teapot Dome and other investigations. It is not necessary here to recall the origins and objects of these investigations. They grew out of charges that for a long time had been bruited, affecting the integrity of administration in various government departments. The most sensational stories had to do with the naval oil reserve leases, with the conduct of the Department of Justice, and expenditures and management in the Veterans' Bureau. But along with these there were charges against the conduct of the Treasury Department; allegations of favoritism in the administration of the revenue laws, and accusations that the enforcement of prohibition had become utterly corrupt. The activities of the Alien Property Custodian's office, almost from the time of its inauguration under the Wilson Administration, were also brought under attack. A veritable mania for investigations took possession of Congress. At one time or another a majority of the members of the Cabinet were being attacked for alleged derelictions or incompetency. A good deal of amazing testimony was taken, much of it from even more amazing sources. A vast amount of smoke was produced, and underneath it was found enough fire to justify the impression in many minds that something like a conflagration had been going on.



## IV. The Investigation Era at Washington

This investigation epoch was a strange phenomenon. Not only Congress but the public at large seemed for a time to have become victim of a sort of hysteria. Of course, the political opposition was eager to make the most of opportunity to besmirch the party in power and its administration. The assaults grew bolder and the charges of corruption more astonishing. The whole saturnalia of sensations at first was of a partisan character, the charges being aimed against the regular Republicans by both Democrats and insurgent Republicans. But this partisan quality was lost when the names of eminent Democrats were brought into the testimony. It was recalled that Mr. Doheny had been a delegate in the Democratic national convention of 1920 and one of the large contributors to the Democratic campaign fund. It came out, further, that William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury and leading candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, had been earning huge fees as legal representative of Mr. Doheny. Senator Wheeler of Montana, Democrat, and one of the most active among the seekers after corruption, was himself indicted. Then it was charged that his indictment was the result of a political plot, and the Senate ordered an investigation of this charge. It resulted in a vindication of Senator Wheeler by a Senate vote, but this of course had no effect on the Montana indictment.

From first to last no accusation of improper conduct or neglecting his duty was brought against President Coolidge. But, he was the inheritor of the administration against which the charges were aimed, and was seeking nomination at the hands of the party responsible for that administration. Anti-administration forces in Congress took satisfaction in making the most of the opportunity. The broad conclusion from all the accusations was that the Republican Party and the Harding Administration had proved unworthy of the trust the country had reposed in them. The worst that was said against President Harding was that he had been easily misled, and a victim of his loyalty toward unworthy friends. But for a time it seemed that nobody in a place of responsible subordination under him was going to be safe.

The finger of suspicion pointed everywhere, the voice of accusation was raised in all quarters.

Through it all President Coolidge maintained himself, aloof and confident. His was the bearing of a man who perfectly well knew that no investigation, however searching, could "get anything on him." Not only was he serenely confident in his own behalf, but he refused to be driven into a panic. Following the revelations regarding the loan of \$100,000 to former Secretary of the Interior Fall by Edward L. Doheny, at the time when the California oil reserves were leased to Mr. Doheny, the guns of criticism were turned on Secretary of the Navy Denby. Mr. Fall had retired from office some time before the storm broke. Mr. Denby was still in the Navy Department, and it was charged that his failure to protest against the leases was evidence of a weakness amounting to incompetency for his high place. The Senate passed a resolution setting forth its judgment that Mr. Denby ought to go. The President promptly replied with a communication which informed the Senate that he and he alone was responsible for the personnel of his Cabinet, which was not the affair of Congress. The promptness and vigor with which the Executive authority was thus maintained evoked commendation in all quarters. A short time later Mr. Denby resigned voluntarily.

Some of the Republican leaders in Congress became keenly concerned about the charges against Attorney-General Daugherty. They were convinced that he had lost the country's confidence, and that the sooner he was separated from his high position the better it would be. Some of them went to the President and urged that he demand Mr. Daugherty's resignation. Again the President assumed full responsibility for his Cabinet, and declined to assume that his Attorney-General was guilty of any wrong-doing so long as it had not been proved. There was a hectic period of charges and counter-charges, which came to a climax when the Senate demanded and Mr. Daugherty refused to submit certain documents of his Department bearing on matters under investigation. At this point the President intervened and asked for the Attorney-General's resignation. He pointed

out that the Attorney-General's position as legal adviser to the Government in connection with matters which affected himself

had become impossible. Mr. Daugherty promptly brought the long contest to an end by submitting his resignation.

## V. Contests With Congress

While these things were going on in the realm of investigation, another contest between the President and Congress developed, involving the legislative program. A coalition, in both houses, of the large Democratic minority with the small insurgent group, took the reins of effective authority away from the Republican leaders. There was a long delay in effecting organization. The coalition was strong enough to compel some important changes in the House rules, while in the Senate it delayed for a long time the election of a presiding officer and succeeded in choosing Senator Smith of South Carolina, a Democrat, to be chairman of the highly important Committee on Interstate Commerce in the place of Senator Cummins of Iowa, Republican. These, however, were not the most serious incidents to the quarrel in Congress.

Some weeks before the opening of the session President Coolidge had put forth a plan of revising the revenue laws and reducing taxation, which had been prepared at the Treasury Department. Supported with equal determination by President Coolidge and Secretary of the Treasury Mellon, this program was received with great acclamation by the business interests of the country. But it was vigorously opposed by the Democratic-Insurgent coalition which charged that Mr. Mellon was seeking revenue revision in the special interest of large individual and corporate wealth. So the coalition proceeded to make over the Coolidge-Mellon program in a fashion that was distinctly revolutionary.

Secretary Mellon was made the object of bitter attacks, and it was freely charged that the anti-administration forces were determined to drive him from office, along with Secretary Denby and Attorney-General Daugherty. But his strong place in the President's confidence, together with the high estimate which the general public placed upon his abilities, and the popularity of his tax-reduction program, soon made apparent that such efforts would be futile. In the end, Secretary Mellon emerged completely victorious from the personal fight,

but the opponents of his taxation program succeeded in amending it well-nigh out of all resemblance to its original form or principles. When it was finally passed there was much uncertainty as to whether the President would sign or veto it. After long and careful consideration, the decision was to sign. But when he signed, the President issued a statement strongly criticizing the measure. Among other things he declared that although the bill provides a certain amount of tax-reduction and improves some of the features of the administration, "it is not only lacking in tax reform, it actually adds some undesirable features to the present law. As a permanent expression of government fiscal policy this bill contains provisions which, in my opinion, are not only unsatisfactory but are harmful to the future of this country." This was followed by an analysis and criticism of the measure, and in conclusion the President announced that he intended to take the issue to the country, in the hope of having the next Congress amend the law into harmony with the Coolidge-Mellon program. The conclusion of his pronouncement reads:

"A correction of its defects may be left to the next session of the Congress. I trust a bill less political and more economic may be passed at that time. To that end I shall bend all my energies."

One of the most important of the controversies between President and legislature concerned the question of American adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice. President Harding had strongly urged this course upon the Senate, where objection had been raised by the anti-League of Nations Senators. The Court having been set up as one of the instrumentalities of the League, they protested that to give adherence to it would be a sort of back-door entrance into the League which the United States had once rejected. President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes submitted a series of reservations, intended to define the American attitude and insure that we should get the advantages of association with the Court while keeping

free of all entanglements with the League. For this program, President Harding pleaded repeatedly and eloquently; and his successor has been equally firm in supporting it. The Senate irreconcilables prevented any action on the matter. Alternative proposals were brought forward by some of them, which the President's supporters regarded as intended to prevent rather than promote the Harding-Coolidge-Hughes program. The net result has been no action thus far; but it was made plain that the President intended to stand by his guns, carry his fight to the country, and continue urging his plan. On no subject of disagreement has feeling been more acrimonious.

The Cabinet controversies, the Congressional investigations, and the long contest over revenue revision did not by any means constitute the full sum of acute disagreements between President and Congress. In his message last December the President devoted a single sentence to the question of a soldiers' bonus. After outlining a series of proposals for the care and relief of the veterans, he concluded, "But I do not favor the granting of a bonus."

It is quite reasonable to presume that if Congress had known Mr. Coolidge as well then as it does now, the bonus legislation might not have passed. The bonus advocates assumed that if it were put up to him by a powerful Congressional majority, he would yield to political considerations and sign a bonus measure, even though under protest. So the bill was passed, went to the President, and was vetoed just as soon as it was possible to prepare a particularly vigorous message. Without unnecessary delay, it was given the two-thirds majority in House and Senate which passes a measure over a veto.

A short time earlier, the President had vetoed the Bursum pension bill, to increase the pensions of soldiers of the Civil, Indian, and other wars, and of their dependents. In that case the bill failed in the Senate to muster the necessary two-thirds vote, and consequently was lost. In the closing hours of the Congress session the President sent to Capitol Hill his last veto message. He disapproved a bill to increase salaries of postal employees, on the ground that it would add \$60,000,000 to Government expenses; that there had been three increases since 1919 and that these employees were already better paid than the average of Government workers in Washington; and finally, that a

general plan of reorganizing postal wages and revenues with a view to making the department self-supporting, is pending. The veto was not overruled.

Still another contest between President and Congress was over the Immigration act. As to most of its provisions there was no serious controversy. But in dealing with Japanese immigration, Congress had ventured to set aside the old "gentlemen's agreement" between the American and Japanese governments for regulation of this subject, and had written into the new measure a specific prohibition against immigration of Japanese. This had drawn a vigorous protest from the Japanese Government, which was deeply offended, as were the people of Japan. The White House and State Department had given Congress to understand that they opposed this Japanese provision; but Congress nevertheless accepted it. After the bill was passed there was another period of uncertainty as to the President's course. It was ended by the announcement that he had signed the bill and the issuance of another statement from the White House setting forth the administration's disapproval of this Japanese feature. The President declared that if the Japanese provision had stood alone before him, so that he could deal with it independently of the rest of the act, he should have vetoed it.

The series of Mr. Coolidge's vetoes, and the other controversies which had marked his relations with Congress, might have been expected to have a disastrous effect upon his candidacy for his party's nomination. Instead, these things seemed to add to his strength with the people. They reminded the country of his upright and downright stand years ago, as Governor of Massachusetts, toward the Boston police strike. That stand for law and order had first brought him before the national attention as a public figure of first class. When the public became convinced that Mr. Coolidge, as President, was made of the same firm stuff that it had recognized in him as Governor of Massachusetts, his stock began to mount steadily upward. Individuals might disagree with some of his vetoes, might disapprove some of the measures he advocated, might favor policies he opposed. But all that was unimportant compared to the fact that he was constantly demonstrating a calm, simple, unhesitating courage in his convictions. Moreover, his convictions

seemed to coincide with a decidedly preponderant public opinion.

To have won his nomination in such a time of turmoil; to have gained so remarkable a testimony of public confidence at the very time when it might have seemed that all the fates were in a conspiracy against him—this is the big, impressive

achievement of President Coolidge. Whatever may be the standing of his party, it has been made as plain as anything in politics can be, that he holds the confidence of the masses of his party. He has won that confidence in a time so brief, and in the face of difficulties so great, as to make the accomplishment unique in our politics.

## VI. Personal Characteristics

Mr. Coolidge is one of the youngest of the Presidents. Born July 4, 1872, he was fifty-one years and a month old when he was sworn in by his father, John Calvin Coolidge, at the old family home at Plymouth, Vt. Those who reached the chief executive office younger were Polk, aged 49; Fillmore, 50; Pierce, 48; Grant, 46; Garfield, 49; Arthur, 50; Cleveland, 47; and Roosevelt, 42. Three of these—Fillmore, Arthur, and Roosevelt—came into the White House, like Coolidge, from the Vice Presidency by reason of the President's death. Of the six who thus succeeded to the highest post—Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson, Arthur, Roosevelt, and Coolidge—only Roosevelt and Coolidge afterward won their party's nomination to succeed themselves.

Calvin Coolidge is of the sturdiest New England stock, the first of the family having come to Massachusetts in 1630. The President is of the ninth generation from John Coolidge, who came in that year and settled at Watertown, Mass. The first of the family to remove to Vermont was another John Coolidge. He had served through the Revolution and became a captain; and in 1781 went to Saltash, now Plymouth, Vt., which continued the seat of this branch of the family down to the President's own day. His father, at 79 years of age, still manages the hillside and valley farm which has been in the family since Captain John Coolidge acquired it 143 years ago. Besides the farm, he conducts a general store, is a justice of the peace, and has always held a place of modest leadership in the community. The President's mother, born Victoria Josephine Moor, died when he was twelve years old, and six years later his father married Carrie G. Brown. She died on May 18, 1920, less than a month before her distinguished stepson was nominated for Vice President.

The youth of Calvin Coolidge was much like that of any other Vermont-born farm

boy. He was quiet, thoughtful, studious, and industrious. Passing successively through the Plymouth public school, the Black River Academy at Ludlow and the St. Johnsbury Academy, he went to Amherst College, graduating *cum laude* in 1895. During his senior year he entered a nationwide competition of college students for a gold medal offered by the Sons of the American Revolution. It was to be the prize for the best essay on the "Principles for which the Colonies Fought in the Revolutionary War." The judges awarded the prize, among papers submitted from colleges all over the country, to Coolidge of Amherst. He was Grove orator of his class, a distinction which came to him in recognition of his faculty of quiet humor.

In September of 1895, following his graduation from Amherst, having made the momentous decision to leave the old family seat, he located at Northampton, Mass., and began studying law in the offices of Hammond & Field. Admitted to the bar two years later, he began practice at Northampton, and from the beginning interested himself actively in politics.

The remarkable political career which was to carry him to the White House, opened almost at once. Two years after he had opened his law office, he was elected to the Northampton town council. From that time on his advance was continuous. In the last twenty-five years he has held office just about twenty; he has been a candidate sixteen times, and never failed of election.

The career of Calvin Coolidge in public office, furthermore, has been well-rounded. He has served as a lawmaker in the local city council and in both branches of the legislature of the great commonwealth of Massachusetts; he has presided over the Massachusetts Senate and over the United States Senate; he has served in an executive capacity as Mayor of the city of



Northampton, as Governor of his own State, and as chief executive of the nation. The chronological record is:

	Year	Service
City Council, Northampton.....	1899	1 year
City Solicitor, Northampton....	1900	2 years
House of Representatives, Mass.	1906	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1907	1 year
Mayor of Northampton.....	1909	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1910	1 year
State Senate, Mass.....	1911	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1912	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1913	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1914	1 year
President of State Senate.....	1913	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1914	1 year
Lieutenant Governor, Mass.....	1915	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1916	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1917	1 year
Governor of Massachusetts.....	1918	1 year
" " " " " " " " " " " "	1919	1 year
Vice President of U. S. ....	1920	2½ years
Became President of U. S. ....	1923	.....

As Lieutenant Governor during the entire period of American participation in the war, he took an active part in the various and intense public activities of that period; and he served as Governor during the two trying years immediately after the war. It was here that he found his first great opportunity to demonstrate high talents as an administrator. He was an efficient leader and untiring worker in the huge task of getting the State Government reestablished on a peace-time basis after the war period of enormous expenses and extraordinary methods. The measure of his success in this work is found in the election returns from his two campaigns for Governor. In 1918 he had 17,000 majority, and in 1919 it jumped to 125,000.

The first term as Governor was made particularly notable by reason of the Boston police strike, in September, 1919. A movement to organize a union among the policemen, and affiliate it with the American Federation of Labor, started the trouble. Forbidden to affiliate with any outside organization, the police struck; and the city, well-nigh unprotected, was in a critical position for some days. Governor Coolidge, by virtue of his authority over the Commissioner of Police of the city, stepped into the breach and, refusing all com-

promises, held out for the unqualified rule of law and order. So prompt and effective were his measures that the trouble quickly ended in a complete victory for authority. The Governor was warned that his stand might ruin him politically, but he paid no attention. His courage and the effectiveness of the measures he adopted won plaudits from all parts of the nation, while the sentiment of the people of Boston and Massachusetts was proved by the large increase of his majority in the election a few weeks later. Down to his accession to the Presidency, his handling of the police strike was the high spot in his career, the big, signal testimony of that determined courage which more recently has been repeatedly attested by his acts as President.

Massachusetts voted for Coolidge's nomination for President at the 1920 Republican Convention. He was nominated for Vice President on the first ballot, and elected the following November.



THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. COOLIDGE AT WORK AROUND THE FARMHOUSE IN PLYMOUTH NOTCH, VERMONT, LAST SUMMER

At President Harding's invitation, the Vice President attended the sittings of the Cabinet. He was thus in close touch with the executive side of government business, while his duties as presiding officer of the Senate kept him similarly intimate with legislative affairs. When death so tragically claimed President Harding, therefore, the second in command was prepared for his duties as no predecessor in like circumstances had been.

The new President quickly settled into the duties of his office. Always a hard worker, he was often at his desk before his full staff would be on hand. The enormous mail of a President—its volume, by the way, increased greatly from the day Mr. Coolidge took charge—and the long list of interviews with callers whom it is necessary for a President to receive, occupies the time till about one o'clock. Then a few minutes for shaking hands with the stream of casual visitors, followed by lunch at the White House. Visitors are commonly present at this hour, invited in for continuation of conferences begun earlier. After lunch, an afternoon with more callers—Cabinet officers and lesser executives, members of Congress, diplomats, men and women from the world of business and affairs; more mail to be dealt with; speeches or public papers to be prepared; a myriad of problems and pending issues to be studied—the day always too short for a President's tasks.

The first group of people in Washington to discover how well and readily Mr. Coolidge could talk when it served his purposes, were the newspaper correspondents. Under the Harding régime they were received twice weekly, at midday on Tuesday and in the late afternoon on Friday. This custom was continued under President Coolidge. Nobody is admitted save the President and the corps of correspondents—often as many as a hundred of the latter. As space is limited, the President and his callers stand throughout the interview.

The newspaper men write out their inquiries in advance, and the President receives them a few moments before the visitors enter. Standing behind his desk with a handful of question slips, he answers one question after another; simply, straightforwardly, and with the assurance of one who knows he will get a strictly fair presentation in the papers. When he cannot answer the question, he says so; and that happens pretty often, for even a President

equipped with omniscience would be put to it to keep up with the demands of that gathering. It is an inviolable rule that the President is not to be quoted. Instead, "a White House spokesman" appears in *oratio obliqua* in the news columns; or perhaps it is reported that "White House information is that"—etc. Nobody asks "trick" questions; the "smart stuff" is banned. After the written questions have been dealt with, the correspondents are free to ask, *à la voce*, others that may have been suggested. It is all business-like, dignified, and yet distinctly friendly and intimate.

Mr. Coolidge at first amazed his hearers with his freedom, for they expected him to be a poor "news service." But they soon adjusted themselves to the new conception of him as a man who knows what he knows, how much of it he wants to tell, and how to tell it—a set of most useful qualifications.

A walk in the early morning, another in the late afternoon usually furnish the day's exercise. Sometimes there is the variation of a horseback ride, but walking is the favorite exercise. The President enjoys tramping about the Washington streets, sometimes in the shopping district, at other times in the residence sections. He is, of course, always accompanied by a secret service man.

Dinner at the White House, like lunch, usually affords opportunity for discussions with people invited for that purpose. The Coolidges have entertained, in a quiet way, rather widely. The President's yacht *Mayflower* does a turn on the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay waters nearly every weekend, with the White House family and a party of invited guests. Sunday morning, church attendance is an inviolate rule, the *Mayflower* being boarded after church, spending the afternoon and sometimes the night on her trip.

The President's charming wife has been of the greatest assistance in all the duties that involve the social phase. She was Grace Anna Goodhue, a daughter of Vermont but a teacher in Northampton, before her marriage to Mr. Coolidge in 1905. They have two sons, John, born 1906, and Calvin, born 1908. They have been at the Mercersburg (Pennsylvania) Academy the past school year, John having graduated at its close. He will enter Amherst the coming autumn. Both the boys are taller than their father, while their slender and decidedly handsome mother looks almost girlish with them.

# CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT AND THE FARMERS

BY E. C. LINDEMAN

TWO attempts have been made by the United States Government to prevent the exploitation of children's labor. The law of 1916 was based upon the commerce clause of the Constitution and forbade the interstate shipment of goods manufactured in establishments employing child labor. After being in effect for nine months and three days, this statute was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court on June 3, 1918. Congress again sought a remedy in 1919, enacting a law which imposed a tax of 10 per cent. on the annual net profits of certain industries which violated the standards of age and hours of labor laid down in the act. Again, on May 15, 1922, the Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional. Public opinion appeared to be so clearly in favor of some form of legislation to curb the evils of child labor that it was expected that the several States would quickly enact laws to raise their standards and thus make federal legislation unnecessary. Unhappily no State has thus far brought its laws fully to the standard set by the former federal acts.

The friends of legislation which would regulate child labor have now determined that there is but one effective method for achieving the desired result, namely, the laborious and difficult one of amending the Constitution so that Congress shall have unequivocal power to regulate, limit and prohibit the labor of children. A resolution providing for such an amendment was adopted by the House on April 26 and by the Senate on June 2.

In the past, opposition to the regulation of child labor has come largely from two sources: Employers who profited from such labor and citizens who were temperamentally opposed to a strong, centralized government and inclined toward a belief in States' rights. Under the influence of a steadily advancing public opinion, these two forms of opposition gradually dimin-

ished in strength. The proposed amendment has given rise to a new and unexpected opposition, namely, that of the farmers. The present political power of the agricultural population has been capitalized. Rural organizations and editors of farm journals have attacked the amendment with alarming vigor. This newer opposition was not sufficiently powerful to defeat the amendment in Congress, but it is entirely probable that its strength is being reserved for purposes of defeating ratification.

## *Does the Amendment Involve Agriculture?*

The amendment is inclusive in its terms. It makes no exceptions, but simply and clearly grants to Congress the power "to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age." Obviously, under this amendment Congress will possess the power to control child labor in agriculture as well as in industry. It is this power which farmers have been taught to fear. They have, in fact, been led to believe that certain faddists purpose to go so far as to prevent boys and girls from doing chores on the farm. This is, of course, sheer misrepresentation. Work on the farm performed by children under parents' direction and without interference with school attendance is not child labor. Work performed by children away from home, for wages, at long hours and under conditions which endanger the child's health, education and morals is child labor, whether the work be performed in a beet-field or a cotton-mill.

Such agricultural labor is susceptible to legal control in the interests of the child and the community on equal terms with industrial labor. In fact, certain forms of agricultural production have become so far industrialized as to make attendant conditions indistinguishable from those which prevail in factories. Studies conducted and published by the National Child Labor

Committee and the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor give unmistakable proof that thousands of American children are being exploited in industrialized forms of agriculture and that this exploitation is inimical to the welfare of working children. To make exceptions for agricultural labor would be tantamount to placing a lower valuation upon rural children than upon city children. Mothers and fathers of country children will be the last to admit the validity of discrimination of this sort.

Current agricultural depression is also used as an argument against the amendment. It is a question-begging argument. Prices of farm products are not low because of under-production; on the contrary, they are low because of over-production, under-consumption, an outworn, speculative marketing system, and inadequate credits. Farmers do not need exemption from the child labor amendment to make agriculture successful, but they do need a more just economic system of production and distribution. Our agricultural economy is indeed decrepit and we are resourceless people if we must rely upon the labor of children to save farming from bankruptcy.

It is unbelievable that clear-headed farmers will be tricked into a position so false as this. They may be desperate in their efforts to find a way of escape from their present financial situation but they will need to become far more desperate before they can be induced to trade their children's welfare for an alliance with those who place profits before human values. Farmers may be trusted to support the enlightened point of view, once they come to understand the real motives which animate the friends of child labor legislation as well as the purport of the amendment.

#### *The Rights of Individual States*

Child labor has increased since the former federal statutes have been invalidated. Only eight States have raised their standards since 1922 and no State has as yet reached the standard set by the previous federal laws. When individual States enact legislation which does raise the standard, the tendency is a movement of child-employing industries toward States where laws are

lax. This constitutes a manifestly unfair form of competition. Production costs may be lowered by the employment of children's cheap labor, and the industries which follow this practice are thus enabled to undersell their competitors.

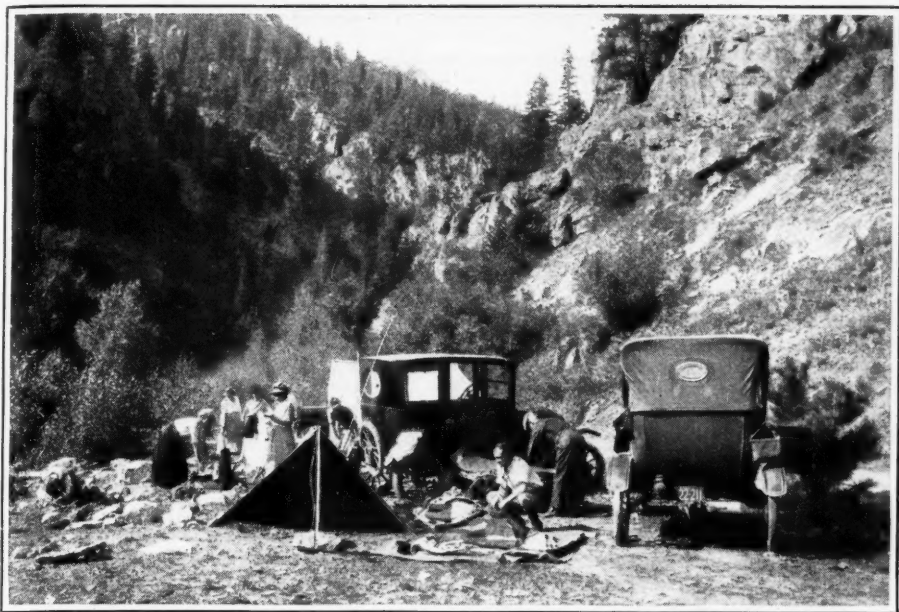
The only effective means of equalizing the opportunities for the children as well as the industries of South Carolina and of Massachusetts is to provide a minimum standard which applies equally to both States. This is precisely what the amendment proposes to do. The second section of the amendment specifically affirms that "the power of the several States is unimpaired by this article, except that the operation of State laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress." In other words, the federal government is to be given the power to set a standard for all American children below which no State may go; individual States may go as far above the minimum standard as they please. In essence this implies that from the viewpoint of the federal government the children of all States deserve an equal minimum of opportunities for growth, education and recreation—a minimum which should not be invaded by enforced labor for others' profits.

The majority of nations have already enacted laws which guarantee certain standards for industrial child labor. The draft convention of the 1921 conference of the International Labor Office of the League of Nations provides that "children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours fixed for school attendance." Japan, Czechoslovakia, Esthonia and Sweden have ratified this convention. If the United States Government does not soon enact similar legislation it will find itself in the anomalous position of accepting and putting to work immigrant children who could not have been legally employed in their own countries.

When farmers become acquainted with facts such as the above, we may be confident that they will not allow themselves to be used as the innocent but effective means for defeating the Child Labor Amendment.







VACATION SEEKERS ENJOY THE NATIONAL FORESTS EVERY SUMMER, THROUGH A THOUSAND GATEWAYS

## RECREATION IN THE NATIONAL FORESTS

BY W. B. GREELEY

(Chief, U. S. Forest Service)

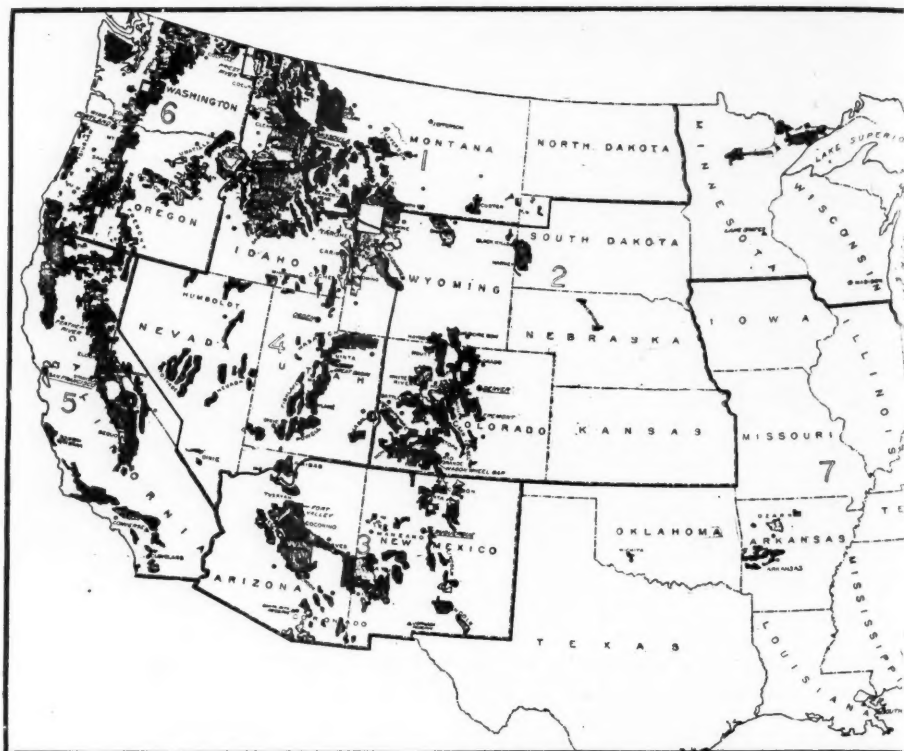
**N**EARLY seven million people sought the National Forests during the vacation months of 1923. But there are 147 National Forests with a combined acreage of 157 million acres. So there is room for several times seven million visitors without anyone feeling crowded.

When the National Forests were turned over to the Department of Agriculture in 1905, Secretary James Wilson issued a decree to his cohorts of foresters and rangers. All the resources contained in these public properties, said he, must be managed with an eye single "to the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run."

The first tasks into which the young Forest Service was plunged, and which more than absorbed its energies at the outset, were the protection of its vast domains from fire, the segregation of agricultural lands, the cutting of timber in ways that would

grow a new crop, the planting of fire-swept areas with young trees, and the regulation of sheep- and cattle-grazing. For many years the Forest Service had little time to think of anything else. It has indeed been suspected of seeing in trees nothing but board feet of lumber, in waterfalls nothing but kilowatts of electric energy, and in wild flowers nothing but fat mutton.

As a matter of fact, the most unsentimental inventory of the National Forests would have to set down recreational assets scarcely less valuable than their economic resources. The land which contains a third or more of the virgin timber still left to us includes of necessity a thousand woodland spots whose special charm or proximity to routes of travel or nearness to urban population stamp them with an outstanding value for recreation. The National Forests contain the headwaters of most of the rivers of any consequence in the Western States.



ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION ACRES OF NATIONAL FOREST AFFORD

And for every thousand acre feet of water or every thousand horse-power of energy there are hundreds of miles of mountain brooks and lake shores which lure the angler and camper.

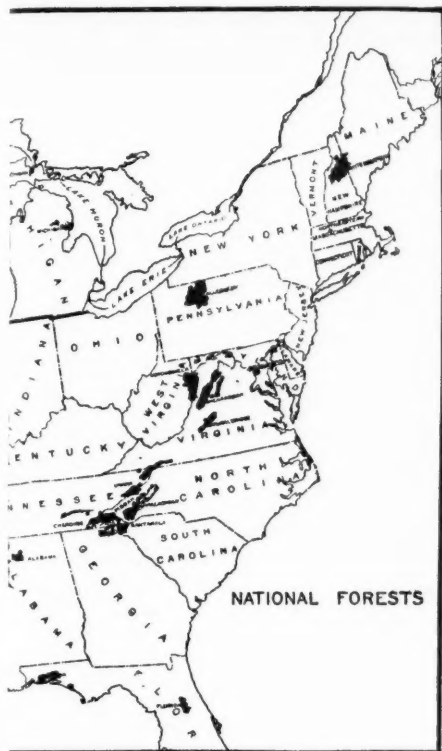
#### *Playgrounds for the People*

National Forest streams supply the municipal water mains of over 1200 cities and towns. And by the same token one finds within their borders the "home woods" or "home mountains" or "home canyons" of many western communities, the particular spots in the out-of-doors into which local groups of people overflow for health or fun as naturally as the New Yorker takes his Sunday stroll in Central Park. The Angelenos spread out into the canyons of the San Gabriel and San Bernardino ranges, the citizens of Salt Lake into Cottonwood Canyon and the Wasatch Mountains, and the people of Portland into the Columbia River Gorge and the lakes and forests around Mt. Hood. Some of these local playgrounds possess no striking

scenic beauty. But they belong to the home folks. They have a place in every-day life.

The value of the National Forests for recreation is increasing even more rapidly than the cost of lumber. The forest background of the United States has always been one of our great social forces. It has given bodily vigor, self-taught resourcefulness, and moral stamina to every generation of Americans. And as cities multiply and every-day living strikes a faster pace, all the more vital becomes the restoring and preserving influence of the open spaces. At the best our forest background will be meager enough for a population of 150 million people.

Back of the thousands of little playgrounds in the National Forests, easily reached by the week-end camper or fisherman or the family on vacation bent, lie great stretches of inaccessible and unspoiled wilderness. Such areas as the Continental Divide in Montana, with the Flathead waters on one side and the Sun River on the other, or the Idaho Bitter-roots, or the Oregon Cascades, with their



OPPORTUNITIES FOR RECREATION

impelling combination of forests and lakes and wild life and rugged going above timber line, will always lure hardy souls with the zest of matching their skill in mountain craft against the wilderness.

The American people have taken possession of the National Forests as one of their great playgrounds. Nature and the woods-going habits of our race attended to that. The National Forests are the outlets for many millions of people whose instincts take them into the open. Nothing could stop them, not even the member of Congress who proposed that the Forests be enclosed with high, woven-wire fences to keep the public out. The question which the management must answer is whether this enormous and rapidly increasing use shall be left just to grow, like Topsy, or whether it shall be guided with such skill and forethought as can be mustered, promoted where it should be encouraged, controlled where it needs restraint, and fitted with other uses of the Forests into an all-round plan of rational administration.

"Tama Jim's" simple formula—"the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run"—is the universal solvent for the problems and conflicts in the management of the National Forests. Many different uses must be correlated in an all-round scheme of public service. The harvesting of timber must in many instances be adjusted to the protection of watersheds, since good forestry for the production of wood is not always good forestry for regulating the behavior of streams. The grazing of pasturage must often be restricted for the good of young trees or the purity of a city's water supply or the sustained flow of mountain streams which feed irrigation reservoirs. And in the same fashion the claims of recreation and wild life come into the picture.

Belts of uncut timber are reserved along well-traveled roads, around camp grounds, and as a setting for groups of vacation homes. Lake shores and other areas of special scenic beauty are guarded from any form of use that would mar their natural charm. A long-standing edict of the Forest Service protects every living Giant Sequoia within its domains from the axe. Stretches of canyon or mountain meadows or upland basins dotted with lakes, which form the playgrounds of local communities or gathering points for outdoor folk, are often reserved exclusively for recreational use. On a hundred ranges the grazing of domestic livestock has been reduced or wholly eliminated so that herds of game animals may obtain the forage which they need.

#### *A Guided and Orderly Development*

Adjustments of this sort are made in the course of every-day business on the National Forests. But the task of making them render the greatest all-round public service goes much deeper. It requires planning and foresight. These vast public properties should not be utilized in a hit-or-miss fashion in response to the particular demand of the moment. A management that is worth its salt must guide their development in harmony with a well-ordered plan. The starting point is to find out what particular form of use represents the greatest public benefit which can be derived from any given Forest area. Once that is determined, we may build upon it, fitting other uses of timber or range or land into the places which they may take without impairing the resource of dominant value.

It is fortunate that the simple terms of the

organic law which provides for the administration of the National Forests permits the widest discretion in devoting this area or that to the particular form of service which promises the greatest public gain. And it is a law unencumbered by vested rights or bureaucratic precedents. The Forest lands in the gorge of the Columbia River were designated by the Secretary of Agriculture as a recreational area to the exclusion of all conflicting uses. In the same fashion watersheds have been set apart for municipal supply, sheep ranges segregated from cattle ranges, areas closed to all grazing and dedicated as undisturbed breeding grounds for wild creatures, and timber-growing units marked out for the supply of dependent ranch communities or local wood-using industries.

There they are—157 million acres of forest and mountain and upland range, to be fitted into the best plan for human service that can be devised. And in working out that plan the already vast use of the National Forests for recreation and their already vast population of wild life are neither necessary evils nor left-overs to shift for themselves. They are major resources, to be fostered with the same zeal with which the forester labors and schemes to increase the yield from his woodlands.

#### *Educating Campers*

The very magnitude of the army of vacation seekers which invades the National Forests every summer through a thousand far-flung gateways precludes any highly organized régime of recreation. Nor would it be in keeping with the spirit of free and unhampered use of these public playgrounds. Not only should the door stand wide open; there should be an open-handed invitation to all within reach to enjoy the Forests with the greatest possible freedom from restraint or red tape. To be sure, the influx of summer visitors brings its difficulties and hazards, particularly the hazard of forest fires and the danger of unwholesome conditions on crowded camp grounds. But it would be unthinkable to meet these problems in a negative or repressive way, by fencing the public out, literally or otherwise. The health and recreation to be gained from the National Forests are too vital to the American people to be curtailed.

There is a constructive solution of the problems which the recreation seekers bring with them. Educate them in care with fire

and good sportsmanship. Tell them about the good camping spots and fishing streams and couple with it the A B C's of safe camp fires and clean woodcraft. Enlist their aid in leaving their forest retreats green and attractive for the next comer. Make them, instead of unconscious firebrands, a citizen militia of forest guards.

A lesson from the judge may be needed before the truth sinks in that the only kind of abandoned camp fires which never set the woods ablaze are dead ones. The eyes of the mountain lookouts are quick to pick out the smoldering embers that begin to "smoke up." The Forest Rangers are not versed in the lore of Sherlock Holmes, but in their own mountains are canny trailers when it comes to running down a careless firebrand. The hoof-prints of a bare-footed horse, the tracks of hob-nailed boots, a scorched fragment of lash rope, a grocery slip left with discarded tomato cans, and the dust marks of non-skid tires which did not match have all led to the overhauling of some violator of Forest hospitality.

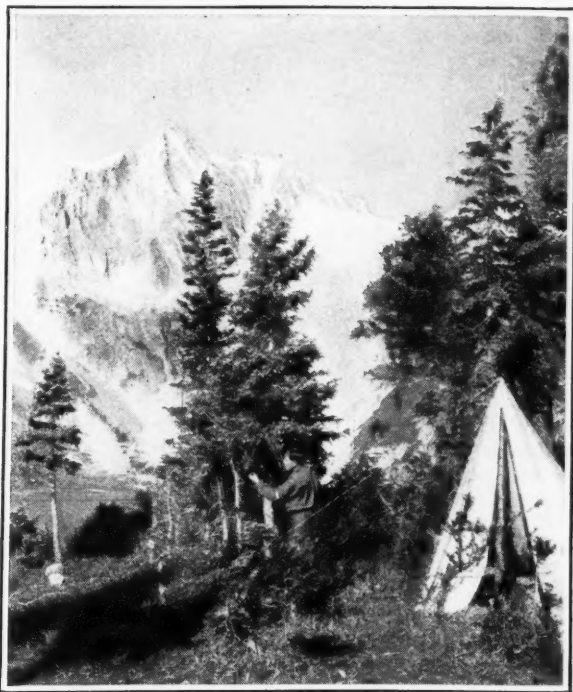
But most of the summer visitors take to heart the "Six Rules" of fire safety printed on their camp-fire permits and trail maps. The Service slogan, "Keep the Forests Green," gains hundreds of fresh recruits every year. Last summer an eleven-year-old boy discovered a fire in one of the Colorado Forests, trudged to the nearest railroad section crew, and insisted that the men go back with him and put the fire under control. Then he hunted up the nearest Forest officer and helped him put the finishing touches on the job. On another Colorado Forest, a Ranger came upon two frail women sweating and laboring to put out a roadside fire which they had seen in driving by. These are samples of scores of incidents that happen every summer.

The first point in the recreational policy of the Forest Service is to open the National Forests wide to the motorists from far and near, the farm wagon with its load of children, bedding and tinware, the hikers, campers, hunters, and fishermen, the amateur photographers, berry pickers, naturalists and mountaineers; to bid them come and follow their respective bents without let or hindrance; and to teach them, if they need the lesson, how to use their own woods as good citizens should. The next step is to make such provision as is possible for the convenience and well-being of the various groups of recreation seekers.



For the hikers and hunters and mountaineers who scorn the beaten paths and seek the real freedom of the hills this means maps and trails and signboards and an occasional rough-hewn shelter cabin in the high country. For the throngs of tourists and transient campers who stick to the main roads but crave the joys of the open fire none the less, it means selected campgrounds chosen with an eye to natural beauty, cleared of undergrowth and inflammable débris, and equipped with simple sanitary conveniences and rough stone fireplaces. There are not far from fifteen hundred commonly used camping spots along the highways in the National Forests. Some of them, like the camp in the Mount Evans region back of Denver, or Eagle Creek in the Columbia Gorge, or the Upper Spear Fish Canyon in the Black Hills, are frequented by 25,000 people or more every summer.

Then come the municipal camps, the Boy Scout camps, and institutional or community playgrounds of one kind or another, offering their opportunities for additional thousands of old and young Americans to flock to the pine and fir woods and the coolness of mountain lakes. These are permanent camps built under National Forest permits, usually with a central lodge or group of log cabins surrounded by colonies of tents. In California nine municipal and five county camps are maintained in the National Forests. Last year they accommodated 15,000 people at an average cost, aside from transportation, of about one dollar per day. Civic and business organizations in Salt Lake have joined in building a similar camp in the Wasatch National Forest, where hundreds of poor people and workmen's families enjoy a two weeks' outing in the mountains at a nominal cost. The traveler is indeed fortunate who can participate in a community picnic and "sing" at the Mutual Dell Community Camp maintained by the Mormon Church for the use of its societies



A FISHERMAN WHO HAS PITCHED HIS TENT IN HOLY CROSS NATIONAL FOREST, COLORADO ROCKIES

of young people, in another of the rugged Wasatch canyons.

#### *Summer Homes for the Many*

Aside from the thousands of families who trek into the National Forests yearly to tent on a secluded spot of their own choosing, there are many who seek a permanent vacation home on a bit of lake shore or by a stream in some cool canyon or on a bluff with half a State spread out before them. They may bring their tents year after year or build a log cabin with their own hands or even erect a pretentious lodge. On many National Forests there is room enough and to spare to give each of them the exclusive use of a bit of Uncle Sam's domain. The summer home permit at a nominal charge meets the needs of these folk, and about 6000 families have thus become steady summer residents of the National Forests.

And then come the hotels and resorts, little and big, which are needed at many points to give adequate service to the public, and the stores, outfitting stations, and what not, where the "tin-can" tourist

may replenish his larder or the camping party stock up for an expedition into the back country. There is room for them, too, and a flexible permit system for the occupancy of National Forest land, covering a considerable period of years if need be, meets equally the requirements of these enterprises.

Desirable as are all of these uses of the National Forests for recreation, each in its own field of service, it would be folly to let down the bars to a free-for-all, unguided inrush. A degree of coördination and control is essential to distribute the opportunities fairly and to assure the greatest public utility from a playground area as a whole. This is well illustrated by the areas already intensively used, like San Antonito Canyon in the Angeles National Forest, where there are over four hundred summer homes in addition to community camps, resorts, and a deal of transient camping. Plan-wise development is essential. Roads must be laid out, ample spaces retained for the tents and camp fires and elbow room of the nomads, sites reserved for community camps or hotels where there will be a call for them, and summer home colonies plotted where and to the extent they will fit into the general scheme. And all must be done with jealous care to preserve the natural beauties and fit the entire development harmoniously into its setting of forest or canyon or lake shore.

#### *A Recreation Plan for Every Forest*

A recreation plan is a necessary part of the equipment of every National Forest. Not only must it project the development of each playground unit with such vision of the public needs and such skill in landscape engineering as can be commanded; it must settle the larger questions of fitting recreation into the place which it merits in the all-round use of half a million or a million acres. It must deal with the hinterland of mountains and forest no less than with the accessible canyons. It must think of the pathfinder with his pack mule no less than the tourist with his Ford car. It must plot the roads and trails that are ultimately to be built. It must coördinate the recreation that is coming and its background of unspoiled beauty with the cutting of timber

and the pasturing of herds and the protection of municipal watersheds.

The recreational use of the National Forests is close to the masses of the people. Much larger sums of money have been contributed toward its physical development by local communities and groups of people than by the Government itself. By and large, this use of the National Forests has been of a homespun, unpretentious sort. It has ragged ends and unkempt corners. It can be vastly improved. But it has made the National Forests a great public playground, earning a return in the health and spiritual well-being of our people far greater than the five and a half million dollars which they place in the Federal treasury every year.

As the social value of our great forest spaces becomes more and more evident, the plea is heard that certain National Forests, or parts of them, be reserved not only from the commercial use of timber and forage but even from the usual forms of mass recreation like wayside camp grounds, vacation homes, and hotels; that the very roads pass by an occasional hinterland of primitive frontier. This is indeed a wholesome reaction from the intrusion of the highway and the honk of the automobile horn. It would fit into the National Forest picture of the future a few great stretches of untrammelled wilderness set aside for their wild life and for the more hardy and zealous among the seekers of the out-of-doors.

The National Forests contain many areas of rugged mountains and inaccessible woodland which nature herself has dedicated to this form of recreational service. The tides of industrial development and general travel will beat against these mountain fastnesses in vain. At other points where the commercial use of National Forest resources, the building of roads, and the more common forms of recreation will naturally expand unless they are deliberately shut out, the light of reason must be the guide in coördinating all the kinds of service, social as well as economic, which a given area may render. The greatest good of the greatest number of American people in the long run undoubtedly does demand abundant opportunities for a rugged and unspoiled taking to the woods.



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A CHARACTERISTIC ASSEMBLY AUDIENCE AT CHAUTAUQUA

# CHAUTAUQUA: FIFTY YEARS YOUNG

BY FRANK CHAPIN BRAY

CHAUTAUQUA Institution is holding its Fiftieth Anniversary Assembly during July and August. This is the "Mother Chautauqua," so-called, at home on the shore of Chautauqua Lake in Chautauqua County at the western end of New York State, half way between New York City and Chicago.

When Viscount Bryce, author of "The American Commonwealth," visited Chautauqua, not merely to lecture but to study this peculiarly American institution, he spent a day touring the region. He observed to the writer that the physical environment—the home of the Chautauqua Idea, on the site of a watershed (to the St. Lawrence on the north and the Mississippi basin on the south), in a grove, beside a spring-fed lake associated in Indian legend with "the Great Spirit"—may have no little significance in estimating the spread and the probable life-cycle of the idea itself.

The first summer Assembly in 1874 was a camp-ground session for Sunday-school teachers, lasting twelve days. The program was broader than the institutes then current and studious "dwellers in tents and purposes" became enthusiasts. The Fiftieth Anniversary Assembly this year presents a distinctive daily platform program

during two months, offers approximately one hundred and seventy-five courses in summer schools during six weeks, and provides an organized type of summer community life not elsewhere duplicated for every member of the family.

Institution activities overflow some thirty public buildings. For a residential population of 10,000 more or less, there are modern hotel accommodations and about four hundred boarding and private houses. Nature's endowment of lake and woods and surrounding hills brings an out-of-doors element into the highly organized Chautauqua life as wholesome as it is stimulating. Chautauquans to-day carry back to their own home towns the same kind of enthusiasm that inspired the first Assembly goes. It is this self-renewing power of the Chautauqua spirit that signalizes the genius of the founders.

*"Most American Thing in America"*

Many have been the attempts to characterize Chautauqua in a sentence. Edward Everett Hale used to declare that until you have sat at a Chautauqua table and talked with the people who come there from everywhere, you do not know your own country. A decade ago a keen magazine



THE PLAZA AND A GROUP OF BUILDINGS AT CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION

writer picked out the three most typical summer resorts in America as Newport for society, Atlantic City for pleasure-seeking crowds, and Chautauqua on a field day for "the best there is in strong athletic manhood and the finest there is in fine American womanhood." Theodore Roosevelt, speaking at Chautauqua, called it "the most American thing in America." True it is that in a democracy such as ours, Chautauqua's influence is beyond computation. The name has gone round the world as that of a characteristic American device for making the most out of life's educational opportunities, not only in summer but every day in the year.

#### *Education for Grown-ups*

First an idea, then a movement, then an institution, is the historical evolution of Chautauqua. "Let us have a pan-denominational training conference for teach-

ers, pastors, parents, and children, with object-lesson models of biblical places and an inspirational series of platform addresses," said the fertile John H. Vincent. "Let us take the Assembly out into the woods, God's first temple," suggested the practical Lewis Miller, who had secured the circular form of Sunday-school classrooms around a general assembly-room for his pastor's church. This summer Assembly idea instantly "caught on." Similar assemblies dotted many States within a few years. The platform developed into a forum which attracted leaders in all cultural lines. Short courses in special studies were demanded. Fathers and grandfathers took to Bible study in the original Hebrew and Greek. Crowds followed lecturers in Oriental costumes into the tent reproduction of Moses' "Tabernacle" and over the miniature Palestine.

As early as 1878 the Chautauqua home



LAST YEAR'S CLASS IN THE FAMOUS CHAUTAUQUA HOME READING COURSE



reading course for adults was launched. This Dr. Vincent inaugurated to give everybody a chance to secure in English certain cultural advantages of what was then known as "the college outlook." The plan spread like wildfire. Chautauqua reading circles appealed to hosts of people, deprived of college privileges, anxious to keep up with the interests of their children whom they were sending to college, ambitious for self-improvement and intellectual growth. All readers were enrolled as members of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle—C. L. S. C., for short. Records indicate that approximately a million persons have taken some part of the courses offered from year to year. More than 80,000 have been "graduated" from the four-year course. All the paraphernalia of class organization, badges, certificates, mottoes, alumni associations, commencement or "recognition" day, and the like, has fostered that relationship with an "alma mater" which collegians associate with their college days. Incidentally this development of the Chautauqua Idea produced a type of book not merely popular, but now standard among publishers and adopted for use in many colleges and universities. A pioneer magazine, *The Chautauquan*, begun in 1880, had thirty-three years of useful life beyond and connected with the course. By constant readaptation to the needs of the times the Chautauqua home system of directed reading is recognized as one of the greatest contributions to educational advancement ever devised.

#### *A People's University*

Chautauqua pioneered the conducting of summer schools now nearly universal among established colleges and universities. William R. Harper of the University of Chicago was the genius responsible for the largest organization of this branch of Chautauqua work in the '80's. Obviously, endowed institutions for all-year students have laboratory and other equipment for certain courses not practicable to duplicate at Chautauqua. On the other hand, pedagogical courses, language courses, science courses involving observation, process courses demanding proficiency in technique, social service courses and the like pursued in the atmosphere of an organized community life offer special advantages. You find 3500 to 4500 students enrolled under more than 120 specialists in the



THE FOUNDERS OF CHAUTAUQUA, JOHN H. VINCENT AND LEWIS MILLER

(Dr. Vincent was a Methodist Episcopal minister, widely known as secretary of the Sunday School Union and editor of its publications, when he founded Chautauqua in 1874. Later he was elected a Bishop. His son, George E. Vincent, was president of Chautauqua from 1907 to 1915. Mr. Miller was an Ohio inventor experienced in devising large auditoriums for Sunday schools and in adapting instrumental music for assemblies. Bishop Vincent died in 1920 and Mr. Miller in 1899)

fourteen school departments every summer session.

Chautauqua is an educational enterprise, not a self-governing community. The town is a plant maintained for institution purposes. Authority is vested in a board of trustees and control is exercised under a charter "to promote the intellectual, social, physical, moral and religious welfare of the people." Leaseholds for cottages, licenses for concessions, institution ownership and operation of public services are part of the administration. A gate ticket fee during the "session" admits to the privileges of a protected community including the public program. Separate fees for regular summer school classes and club activities are paid. Chautauqua is not a stock company and any margins of revenue over expenditures must go back into the



THE FACULTY OF THE CHAUTAUQUA SUMMER SCHOOLS—MORE THAN

work. Clearly such margins from a short summer season could not be expected to provide for upkeep and replacement through the years or for construction of the permanent public buildings required by expanding work.

Increasing "endowments" furnish an unconventional exhibit—Chautauqua fashion: A monumental "Hall of the Christ" of white brick, terra-cotta and stone, from individual subscriptions; a wooden "Alumni Hall" and the "Hall of Philosophy" (reinforced concrete reproduction of a fifth-century Greek temple), from C. L. S. C. classes whose members receive "recognition" there for completed reading courses; the brick Wilkes Memorial Lecture Hall and the Higgins Memorial Recital Hall; the wooden Kellogg Memorial Kindergarten Hall with a Frances E. Willard stained glass window; the Gerwig Memorial Pergola for children's play; a colonial Hall of Missions; the brick "Deaconess Home" from a bequest; nine denominational houses for special services and social contacts; the Lewis Miller Memorial Tower carrying the chime of bells and town clock; concrete memorial fountains; the Women's Club; the Men's Club; the Y. W. C. A. Hospitality House; Jewett House for student-teachers; Summer School Scholarships; the Massey Memorial Organ for the great amphitheater; a small general endowment fund. Once every season, on "Old First Night," the anniversary of the opening of the First Assembly in 1874, celebration is marked by an amphitheater appeal for gifts to Chautauqua's equipment for service. In this

Golden Jubilee year the International Lyceum and Chautauqua Association is promoting a \$30,000 fund to establish an annual Memorial Lectureship at Chautauqua as a tribute to the founders of Chautauqua Institution.

#### *Organization of "Circuit" Chautauquas*

In the earlier years more than 200 Chautauqua Assemblies patterned after the "Mother Chautauqua" were independently set up in States from coast to coast. They aroused tremendous interest in popular education. Many excellent programs were offered and considerable class work developed. Since short seasons of less than a month at tent or cottage resorts were the rule, few of the local assembly organizations found a solution for the cumulative problems of physical and financial maintenance. In twenty-five years most of these Chautauquas disappeared.

On the one hand Western universities in particular began to open their courses and campuses to adults for summer sessions, with addresses, concerts, dramatic performances and recreational features. To-day summer registrations at leading universities, east and west, frequently exceed that of any other part of the academic year and the Chautauqua scheme of educational attractions is utilized.

On the other hand, the organization of Circuit Chautauquas as an extension of the winter lyceum bureau business carried programs of lectures and entertainments home to people in thousands of their own communities. This independent adaptation of Chautauqua ideas has reached phenomenal



ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS—IN FRONT OF THE ARTS AND CRAFTS BUILDING

proportions. A three-, five-, or seven-day program is sold to a local committee or organization and the bureau sends in advance campaign teams and literature, routes relays of "talent" — speakers, musicians, players, entertainers, scoutmasters, etc.—to one town after another. A college-boy crew sets up the completely equipped tent-auditorium in which the (home-town named) Chautauqua is held, and after the program is over moves it on to the next scheduled town. Nearly 9000 Chautauquas are said to have been held in a single year in the United States, reaching audiences of ten to twelve million people. Such broadcasting stations preceded the radio and successfully catered to the perennial desire of Americans to hear, see, and check up for themselves on the prominent men and women they read about. Here was the widest known forum for political, social, religious educational leaders with a message, and higher types of entertainment have been supplied to many starved towns. None will gainsay the Circuit Chautauqua stimulus to the civic welfare of our democracy.

Chautauqua Institution has developed a unique program of something like ideal daily living for a season. It might be characterized as vacation—plus. There must be a lot of American people who still care for that sort of thing, for they come from everywhere, cities, towns, villages, foreign lands, leading spirits in all sorts of activities in their communities. The way in which they quickly group and re-group themselves on lines of common interest is enlightening. Under some plan of institu-

tional suggestion and direction every last member of the family from grandmother to kidlet discovers a group interest above the level of food, clothes, or gossip. Classes, choir, clubs and directed play for the children leave parents unusually free for association according to taste. Athletic activities are organized for the many, not a few, young people. The Woman's Club conducts a veritable federation program of national scope. Not merely golf but public opinion here in the making interests men. Instead of planless living each member of the whole family at Chautauqua may choose some plan that makes life more worthwhile. An exceptional, democratic, social spirit prevails. Whatever may be one's specialty, either as leader, or student, or vacationist, personal experience in Chautauqua citizenship for a season is novel and inspiring. Ideas and associations not buildings make Chautauqua Institution what it is. "Once a Chautauquan, always a Chautauquan."

*"Education is Life"*

The Chautauqua platform maintains its national and international reputation. Seven Presidents of the United States, scores of statesmen, educators, authors, leaders in all walks of life have spoken here to great audiences representing the best elements in our national life. Chautauqua invites neither sensation-mongers nor self-seekers but men and women who from experience and training are able to speak with authority. Musical standards have advanced: the New York Symphony Orchestra programs for the fiftieth anniversary



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MR. ARTHUR E. BESTOR, PRESIDENT OF CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION SINCE 1915

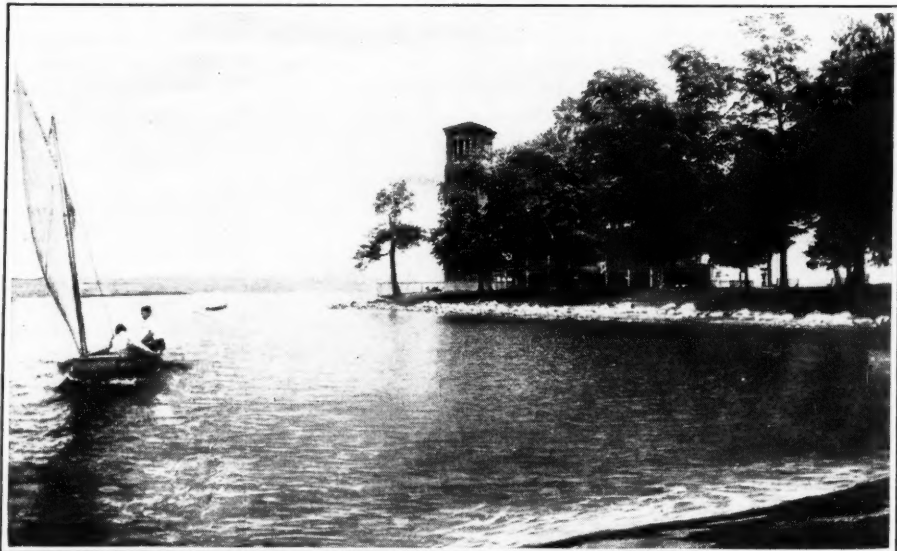
(Mr. Bestor has been connected with Chautauqua for nearly twenty years. Previously he had been a lecturer in the University of Chicago)

lead a musical series of thirty-one concerts. Three plays and an historical Chau-

tauqua pageant will be put on. The public program is arranged by weeks to present a sermon and ethical or religious series of addresses, a course of lectures of the university extension type, symposiums or popular addresses on topics of the day by invited speakers, a series of interpretative readings, concerts and evening entertainments, a Sunday evening song service. Conferences, group meetings and other less formal events fill the schedule.

Chautauqua does not separate religion from life. The influence of denominational coöperation in common life and worship at Chautauqua from the beginning has been far-reaching. The Department of Religious Work provides courses, a conference on International Peace and Goodwill, Home and Foreign Missions Institutes, and chaplains for successive weeks. The fundamental purpose of Chautauqua being education in the broadest sense, its scope includes not merely intellectual improvement but ethical progress and spiritual growth.

Chautauquans used to say that the greatest lesson taught to maturing men and women by Chautauqua was that "education ends only with life." The revised version reads, "Education *is* life." Chautauqua lives to spread this gospel of opportunity and demonstrate its truth through the years of a changing social order.



A GLIMPSE OF CHAUTAUQUA LAKE, IN WESTERN NEW YORK, WHERE CHAUTAUQUA INSTITUTION HAS HELD ITS ANNUAL SUMMER ASSEMBLY FOR HALF A CENTURY



# MUSSOLINI, "THE LEADER"

BY FABIAN PHILIPP

[The author of this character sketch of Italy's dictator-premier is a journalist and lecturer well known in Europe. For some years past he has been correspondent in Rome for a leading German newspaper. England, France, Germany, and Italy have held general elections within the past few months, and in Italy alone was the Premier in office fully sustained by the people.—THE EDITOR]

**T**O UNDERSTAND the Fascist movement in Italy one must know Mussolini, for he is its real creator.

He believes himself to be intrusted with the mission of leading his people, and he finds in the enthusiastic approval which he has received—not only from his Fascist adherents but also from all ranks of the nation—the courage and strength to pursue the policies which he deems necessary for the welfare of his country, even where he has had to go against the will of Parliament.

Benito Mussolini has one trait in common with the present-day statesmen of other European countries. Just as they have sprung from the lower classes of society, working themselves up through sheer intelligence and will power, so too is Mussolini, the son of a small village blacksmith, a self-made man in the truest sense of the word. No other statesman, however, has succeeded in winning a position of power equal to Mussolini's and in dominating the whole spiritual life of a nation, as he does. They call him *il duce* [the leader] for short, and this title is significant.

## *His Early Training*

An autobiography, of which only fragments have been published, reads literally:

I was born on July 29, 1883, in Varana di Costa, a little hamlet situated on an elevation in the village of Dovia. . . . The sun had entered the constellation of the Lion the day before. My father's name was Alexander. He had never gone to school. At the age of ten years, he was sent to the nearby village of Dovadola, in order to learn the blacksmith trade. From Dovadola he went to Meldola, where he had an opportunity during the period 1875 to

1880 to become acquainted with the ideas of the internationalists. Afterward my father established himself as a blacksmith in Dovia, and began to propagate the ideas of the internationale. He formed a large group which later was dissolved by the police.

Having thus pictured his father, Mussolini writes about himself in his early years:

I started learning the alphabet during my fourth and fifth years, and soon was able to read correctly. Between my sixth and ninth years, I was instructed first by my mother and later on by Silvio Marani, a teacher in Predappio. I was a wild boy, always looking for a fight, and frequently I returned home with bruised head from stones thrown at me; but I have always managed to avenge myself.

His mother, who was very devout, took him against his father's will to the school of the Salesians in Forlì; but he had to leave there in 1898 because in a fit of rage he injured with a pocket-knife one of his schoolmates who had insulted him. At the age of sixteen he made his first literary attempt, publishing an article and several sonnets in a local paper which four years later yielded him a teacher's diploma in Forlì's seminary. His activity as a school teacher in Gualtieri Emilia lasted only a short time. A few months afterward we find Mussolini traveling to Switzerland with 45 lire which his mother had sent him. He arrived there without funds, and in his misery he accepted employment in all sorts of trades. He worked as a mason, painter, clerk, porter, laborer, and helper in a Geneva delicatessen store. Twenty years later—as Domenico Russo narrates in his excellent book "Mussolini et le Fascisme"—the same storekeeper was waiting in a large crowd for Mussolini, who was to meet Curzon



BENITO MUSSOLINI

and Poincaré; and the present Italian Premier suddenly recognized him, ran toward him, and cordially shook his hand.

*Expelled from Switzerland and Austria*

Mussolini made it a practice to study after his day's work. For a time he was a student at Lausanne University, and there he obtained a diploma as teacher of French. One day, disgusted with working as a laborer in a small Swiss village for 2.50 francs a day, he began to travel again. In the evening he sought shelter under a bridge, but was discovered by a Swiss policeman and arrested for vagrancy. Without further ado he was expelled from Switzerland because of a lack of satisfactory means of sustenance. In December, 1922, to be sure, the Swiss Government hastened to rescind that order of expulsion, for at that time Mussolini was arriving in a private car as Italy's Prime Minister.

After his expulsion from Switzerland, Mussolini went first to Tyrol. There he became a collaborator on the *Avvenire di Trente* and on the *Popolo* (which at the time was conducted by the Irredentist-Socialist Battisti). But from Austria, too, he was expelled by the authorities.

*Editing a Socialist Newspaper*

He returned to Forlì, Italy, where he founded the weekly *La Lotta di Classe*, taking from that time on a most active part in the socialistic movement of his country. He became one of its most ardent exponents and soon attained an influential position in the party. After the revolutionary faction had won out against the reformists at the Socialist Congress in Ancona in 1913, he was entrusted with the management of the principal socialistic paper, the *Avanti*. In the daily combats evolving from this position Mussolini's powerful nature revealed the individualistic bent peculiar to him. He was no "newspaper manager," writes one who was close to him; "he was a dictator, the dictator of the Socialist party."

In Mussolini's editorials of that time one can easily see how the principles matured which later make him the Fascist, one of the most violent opponents of socialism. He wrote, among other things: "We shall prefer quality to quantity. To the obedient flock which resignedly follows the shepherd and runs away at the first howling of the wolves, we shall prefer the small body of daring and determined lads who com-

bine faith with reason, who, knowing what they want, advance straight toward their goal." In another passage, we read: "We have many disciplined adherents, but their brains are poor and their education is superficial."

Mussolini, the aristocrat, who places intelligence and education above the mob, reveals himself in these words. His hatred of parliament also is exhibited here. He complains that for long years the country has been the victim of politicians who never achieved anything, he scorns "parliamentarian stupidity" and even goes so far as to accuse the Italian parliament of corruption.

*Breaking with the Socialists When War Came*

A born fighter, Mussolini wants to assert everywhere his exuberant temperament, to have his individuality dominant at every opportunity that is offered, and to play the rôle of leader. Coldness, indifference, passivity are anathema to him, and this perhaps will also explain why Mussolini, as a violent enemy of Austria, opposed—in contrast to the vast majority of the Socialist party—the neutrality of Italy at the outbreak of the World War. "Neutral countries," he wrote then, "never have dominated events but always have had to submit to them." "We must act, fight, and perhaps die." In October, 1914, because of his article on the *Pecore Belanti* [bleating sheep] of pacifism, an open break between him and his party took place. A meeting of the Milan Socialist section was called, in order to decide as to his expulsion from the party. He was received with whistling and howling in the hall of the people's house, which was filled to the last seat. He wanted to speak, but the enraged crowd did not want to let him. Presently he pounded the table with his fist so that the decanter of water on it broke into pieces and, shouting into the hall, said: "You hate me because you still love me . . . you will condemn me to-night. All right! But I assure you that I shall speak again, and that a few years hence the masses will follow me while you will not be allowed to speak or to move about freely."

Several weeks after he had resigned the management of the *Avanti* he founded against this paper another one, the *Popolo d'Italia*, the first number of which was published on November 14, 1914, and in which he fought violently all those who advocated the neutrality of Italy. When

Italy finally declared war on Austria he joined the colors as a private at the front, and on account of his qualities and bravery he was promoted to the rank of corporal. He was wounded shortly afterward and taken to a hospital. No sooner was he discharged than he assumed anew the fight against the pacifists and Socialists.

#### *Mussolini Organizes His Fascisti*

At the end of the great conflict the hatred of the former opponents of war against the editor of the *Popolo d'Italia* and his collaborators grew so strong that Mussolini no longer found his paper sufficient for defense. It was then that he conceived the idea to call to life the "Fasci" for his and his adherents' defense, as well as for counter-attack. Thus, on a March evening in 1919, the first "Fascio di Combattimento" was founded in Milan by Mussolini and his collaborators and former "Arditi." At the beginning the Fascisti numbered only seventy; three months later there were about one thousand.

Thereafter they increased rapidly, because of the terrible upheaval brought about by the extreme Socialists and Communists during the first years of the post-war period. It was a time in which the Italian state seemed to crumble to pieces and threatened to become a victim of Bolshevism, which had been imported by Russian emissaries. One strike followed another, and even civil-service employees—such as railroad, postal, and telegraph men—could not be deterred from using the strike weapon. Riots and looting took place in many large cities; murder and arson were daily occurrences. Many localities went so far as to establish the Communistic or Bolshevistic order. Officers could not enter the streets in uniform without being attacked by the populace. Bodies of workingmen took over the factories, driving out the directors and engineers in order to manage things in accordance with Bolshevik principles.

Quickly changing governments were powerless against this anarchy. The consequence was that Mussolini—who had taken up the fight against the Communists

with his Fascist followers, then numbering only a few thousand—received reinforcements from all ranks of the people who had suffered under these disturbances. Not only did Fascism find liberal support from capitalists and industrialists, but also numerous army men, small merchants, farmers, students, and high-school boys came to swell its ranks. Before long Mussolini found himself at the head of a well-armed and organized body of "Black-shirts"; and after he had cleared out the main Communist strongholds, he led his followers to Rome to overthrow the government there and to force upon Parliament his own rule.

#### *Order in Place of Chaos*

That was the final goal which Mussolini had set for himself—after he had crushed the Communists to attack the old liberalism and the men who, although at the head of the government for years, had calmly looked on while the country was steering toward its ruin; men who, despite their weakness and unfitness, were unwilling to relinquish voluntarily their positions of power.

Mussolini has been at the head of the government of Italy since October, 1922. In his exalted and responsible position he has proved to be a statesman of the highest rank. He has understood how to check the Fascist movement which at the beginning acted with a power similar to those of the elements, and to lead it back into more peaceful currents. He has reestablished law and order in his country after the subjection of Socialism which had degenerated into Bolshevism and Communism. He has introduced salutary reforms in all departments of the administration, and has raised his country's prestige by a broad-minded foreign policy and by the conclusion of treaties with Spain, Yugoslavia, and Russia, furthering thereby the peace and the reconstruction of Europe.

Only the future can tell what will be the ultimate fate of Fascism. The movement has had in Italy a purifying effect like that of a rainstorm, and for that reason alone its originator will leave ineradicable marks in the history of his country.

# THE WAR AGAINST THE GERMS

BY CHARLES A. L. REED, M.D.

[Dr. Reed is a distinguished Cincinnati surgeon, with a full half-century of practical experience. For many years he was professor of surgery in Ohio medical colleges. He served as secretary-general of the first Pan-American Medical Congress, in 1893, and as president of the seventh congress, in 1915.—THE EDITOR]

**M**ORE than twice as many human beings are killed every year by preventable diseases as were killed in conflict during the whole four years, three months, and eleven days of the World War.

The key figures and the estimate based upon them are as follows:

The population of the world, as estimated by Colonel Lawrence Martin, official geographer to the United States Department of State, is approximately 1,752,000,000. The death rate in the registration area of the United States is 13.1 per 1,000 inhabitants. This death rate in the well-conditioned population of the United States is lower than that in the similar population of other countries from which returns are received and is known to be well lower than from more backward populations from which only partial returns are recorded. A simple computation based on these figures with the death rate at 13.1 gives an aggregate of 22,951,400 deaths in the world for each year.

## *Fourteen Million Preventable Deaths Each Year*

If now we take, for example, a special population like that of the whole State of New York from which accurate returns are available, we find that approximately 60 per cent. of all deaths are from germ-caused diseases, all of which are potentially preventable diseases. It is known that the proportion of deaths from germ-caused diseases among backward populations like those of Central Asia, India and Africa, is much higher than in advanced populations like those of New York. But, to be conservative by sticking to the 60 per cent. as the basis of calculation, we find that the annual deaths in the world from germ-caused diseases, which is to say preventable diseases, number 14,250,550. This figure, however, does not take into account

the germ-caused epidemic that perennially afflicts the dense population of the Far East, and which, on the average of prevailing estimates, aggregates 3,000,000 annually.

Based upon this estimate, those killed by preventable diseases each year number 17,240,550 or, for four and a quarter years, 73,272,337.

Those killed in the World War covering the same period plus eleven days aggregated 7,668,320.

This is the difference between war with Germs and war with the Germans.

There is the additional difference, that in the war with Germs there is never an armistice.

These broad general facts, approximately correct, show the conditions that ignorance and disregard of natural law, as natural law makes for human happiness and human welfare, have imposed upon the world.

But medical science has accepted the gage of battle; it is daily engaged in the conflict and, let me add, it is daily achieving signal victories, achieving them with but scant recognition and no applause.

These facts are here presented as a present-day basis for a very brief historic background for my thesis, which has to do with the importance of international health functions as agencies for promotion of the health and prosperity of the world.

## *An International War Against Disease*

This historic background begins with 1863, when the International Committee of the Red Cross was set up at Geneva. Its object was to bring succor to the victims of war, pestilence and famine. But its humane purpose did not embrace either the prevention of war or the prevention of epidemics, or their control by international or national health agencies.

It was at the first Pan-American Medical Congress, held at Washington in September,



1893, of which I had the honor to be proponent and Secretary-General, that the question of international concern for controlling and preventing epidemics, yellow fever being the chief offender, was first seriously considered—with reference, more particularly, to safeguarding the countries of the Western Hemisphere.

The proceedings of this congress led to two conferences with resulting conventions between the various Pan-American states. It soon became apparent, however, that control of epidemics was a world-wide problem calling for the widest concern.

This view finally resulted in the Rome convention of 1907 which set up the *Office International d'Hygiene Publique* at Paris. It was a central bureau to secure information from and distribute it to the signatory countries. It was unfortunate, however, that this bureau, important as the first concrete effort at actual international co-operation in health matters, was limited in its functions by having no power either to define or execute policies and by being inadequately supported with funds. But it continued to be the only international sanitary body until, in 1912, it was necessary to hold another conference with resulting conventions to meet conditions in the Near East with an organization at Genoa.

#### *The Fight Renewed, Under League Guidance*

The first effort actually to fight epidemics in Europe by coördinated effort on national health agencies was embraced in the Convention of the League of Nations which, in Article 23, Section F (the last section of the Article and apparently an afterthought), contains the declaration that the League "— will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease."

These seventeen timid words embody probably the greatest single potentiality in this historic document for the betterment of the world. Its significance was shortly to be translated into action. It was in March, 1920. A sanitary conference was holding a parley in London. It was a parley,—time and energy being consumed *en parlant* simply for lack of a central coördinating and executive organization with which to meet and solve the overwhelming problem of post-war epidemics that had developed in eastern Europe, with the storm center in devastated and famine-stricken Poland.

At this juncture the Council of the League of Nations, sitting at Geneva, dispatched a request to the London conference to submit a detailed plan to fight the typhus "in close coöperation with the Polish National Health Service." The plan was submitted. Appeal was made to the constituent countries for funds. An Epidemic Commission of the League of Nations was appointed to carry out the plan of campaign. This commission at once visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, the buffer states along the front of Russia and the more seriously affected areas of the contiguous Russian frontier.

#### *Russia and Turkey as Battle-Grounds*

What were the conditions?

They can be found recorded in the several reports made by the commission to the Council of the League. They embraced in Russia alone, a record for 1810-20 of 6,015,000 cases of typhus, 1,259,500 cases of relapsing fever, some 320,000 cases of smallpox, 160,000 cases of Asiatic cholera with numerous other diseases in a famished, infected and louse-ridden population of poorly clad and often houseless refugees and peasants. There was no report from the Red Army which was known to be sorely stricken. The commission found the same diseases prevailing in similar proportions in Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, but more especially in Poland, which had an accumulated record of more than half a million cases of typhus alone. Czechoslovakia, Rumania and the Serb-Croat-Slovene state were likewise areas of extensive infection.

Reports coming out of Turkey indicated that it was in no better condition. The unsatisfactory state of affairs in all the Near East was indeed such that the impending Mohammedan pilgrimage to Mecca, always a menace to the health of the world, was looked forward to with grave apprehension. A special commission was accordingly dispatched to the states of the eastern littoral to investigate conditions and to secure coöperation in preventing the spread of disease by the pilgrims.

A special commission under the leadership of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was dispatched to Russia with resources for immediate relief and for fighting the epidemics on a basis independent of the League.

It was officially estimated at the Warsaw conference that the actual prevalence of

disease could be accurately estimated only by multiplying those reported by two and a half, so defective were the records of those countries.

The needs of the various countries were determined, a comprehensive budget was drawn up and the necessary funds were secured by voluntary contributions from the various countries signatory to the Covenant.

#### *America's Part*

The United States, not being among the signatory powers, was of course not asked and did not contribute to this international fund. But it is to be recorded that the United States did promptly respond with munificent generosity to the humane requirements. It fed the starving millions, clothed the naked, cleansed the filthy, and on a larger scale than ever before known, did everything that one nation could do under the lead of highly organized relief.

But it is to be remembered the relief thus lavishly given by the United States was one thing, and that sustained international effort by coördinated national health agencies to stamp out epidemic diseases and prevent their return is quite another thing. This other thing, under the circumstances, was not done and could not be done by the United States, important as were our functions in this great post-war conflict. This sustained effort at cure and prevention devolved upon a permanent organization such as existed in the League of Nations. It is a suggestive fact that the only exception to our aloofness from the League is in international health activities.

#### *Turning Back a Typhus Invasion*

The invisible foes of humanity, the myriad host of insidious enemies, more numerous than all the armies ever assembled from Agamemnon to Pershing—the germs of typhus, typhoid, cholera, smallpox—had invaded populations aggregating over 300,000,000 people, not counting those of the vast hinterlands of Siberia and Central Asia. According to reports at the Warsaw conference, more than 20,000,000 had fallen in the conflict, then at its peak of decimation, a conflict that was destined to continue, but with abating fury, for the next two years.

Under the direction of this medical commission, prompt and efficient steps were taken to protect Western Europe from the

rapidly advancing invasion. The vast epidemic area was bisected by establishing a sanitary zone along the states bordering on the west frontier of Russia. It was across this zone that the refugees and the repatriates were passing in both directions but chiefly westward from the pestilential centers of Russia. Each of these wretched persons was carrying either on or within his person the germs of serious and often fatal disease. Therefore the avenue of communication by water and rail was brought under control as nearly as possible. The moving masses were brought to a standstill. Delousing stations were established, vast hospitals were erected, food and clothing were provided, medical services were supplied and every possible humane attention was rendered.

What was the result?

Take the better-kept records of Russia for illustration. The disease—typhus was the one specially involved—at once began to decline from its peak of 68,000 reported cases (170,000 estimated cases) per month in that country alone. The reports showed declines to 65,000, 43,000, 34,000, 18,000, 10,000, 5,000 cases per month. There was a slight recrudescence four months later, but by July, 1921, the disease had receded to its "normal" incident of but a few hundred cases. The epidemic was over. The conflict had been won. Western Europe had been saved.

It was a type of conflict which in the historic past had continued for periods ranging from ten to fifteen years and which even then came to a spontaneous end only because of the acquired immunity of the small remnant of population.

I have spoken of the remaining "normal" incidence of typhus. This means that in spite of all that had been done there are some remaining areas that persistently remain as foci of infection. Typhus, typhoid, smallpox and cholera are perennially endemic among the hordes of India and Central Asia as well as those of far-eastern Europe. It is against the development of these endemics into fresh epidemics with far-reaching and decimative extensions, that the greatest vigilance and utmost skill must be exercised. Safety of the world against such wide-spread pestilence can be secured only by some coördinating agency of world-wide influence such as now exists in the League of Nations and nowhere else.

# AN AMATEUR BIRD CENSUS

THE SPECIES AROUND A SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND HOME

BY CHARLES D. LANIER

SCIENTIFIC men assure us that if all our bird neighbors were to suffer the fate of the carrier pigeon and of certain other species which have disappeared, the earth would rather promptly become uninhabitable for man—so vast would be the increase of noxious insects and rodents. This is, perhaps, a more convincing way of pointing out the economic value of the birds around us than to estimate at so many hundreds of million dollars the saving to our farmers resulting from the collective bug-appetites of the feathered tribe.

The part played by birds in protecting the food of the human race lends a certain dignity to an enthusiasm for bird study and the esthetic enjoyment of them; but it is clearly the appeal to the imagination and to the sense of beauty (where it is not the pure zeal of the naturalist), that normally gives the direct urge to protect birds and to study them. However this may be, whether our subconscious selves are stirred by the birds we have learned to know and prize because they are a part of nature's system of checks and balances without which we could not continue to exist; or whether it is altogether sensuous joy in their grace and melody, there is no doubt whatever that the past thirty years have seen a veritable revolution in the human attitude toward the birds of our common knowledge.

## *The New Attitude Toward Birdkind*

A generation ago when a boy found a nest, unless he were a very rare boy indeed, the first and last thought was to destroy it, for "collecting" means, of course, destruction. If an elegant but unwary brown thrasher lit within range of a youngster's slingshot or cat-and-rat rifle, nothing could save it except poor marksmanship. To-day the rule is that the discovery of a nest of eggs calls for solicitous protection; the small boy with the weapon saves his am-

munition for some creature that is clearly a "varmint."

This is a very remarkable transformation of manners to have come within a generation. For it we must thank such men as Ernest Thompson Seton, Frank Chapman, Herbert K. Job and others who have had a great love for nature with the creative power to awaken some of it in others. For every person who, forty years ago, cared for the birds of the fields and woods sufficiently to observe and understand them, there are a hundred to-day.

The use of the camera, too, has been a powerful aid to the efforts of those who have with such admirable success awakened this generation to the value and charm of birdkind. Without the rapid improvements in photography and the corresponding development of skill in out-of-door work by such men as Finley, Job, and Dugmore, their truly marvelous pictures of birds in all stages of their life of work and play, reproduced and shown to millions through magazines, books and illustrated lectures—there could not have been such a sudden transformation from the purely savage attitude toward birdkind which was the rule in the last generation of men.

## *What Amateurs Can Do*

One does not need to be a scientific person, a naturalist, or, indeed, to have any particular understanding at all of the anatomy of birds or of the principles of their classification into species, to get a deal of enjoyment and a very wholesome hobby from observation of them.

This present small report on a bird census taken by some business men in a suburb of New York City illustrates how the habit of observation, begun in boyhood interests and cultivated casually in fishing or shooting expeditions or quiet tramps of a Sunday, can bring one to terms of familiarity with an astonishing number of bird species

and with the varying kinds of countryside which they choose for feeding and nesting places and sanctuaries from their enemies.

Four or five of these middle-aged (or worse) city workers have made an annual fixture of one day, at the height of the spring migration, spent in carefully counting the species they could identify in their community. The first two years produced eighty-odd species; the third, ninety-six, and this fourth, in the spring of 1924, one hundred and seventeen. Even with totally unscientific observers a certain necessity for exactness is developed by the habits of observation and reporting, for the fun is spoiled by careless assumptions or imaginative attempts. In the interest of truth it is added here that this year's census occupied the major part of two days.

#### *Bird Study Has Its Thrills*

With the standards of other years to be exceeded; with a sunrise start; with great luck here and disappointment there, such an expedition can be rather thrilling. The four men who made the 1924 census in Greenwich, Connecticut, were addicted to sport—shooting, fishing, riding, golf, etc.—and I dare say none of them has had more undeniable zest in the pursuit of game or in the excitement of competition than came in the hardly-won last score of species to be found and triumphantly noted. It is this last score or so that are very difficult and most highly prized. The first half hundred come with ease; the next twenty-five or so by really hard work; and then, in the nature of the thing, nearly every bird seen or heard is one that has already been noted—with a legitimate addition to the list only to be achieved by a combination of perseverance, patience and pure good luck.

#### *The Date for Census Taking*

The day for the census-taking is set, in southern New England or New York, about the middle of May, because it is at this time that the successive waves of the northward migration of birds most lap over on each other; in other words, when there are the greatest number of species present in the one locality. The red-winged blackbird, robin, and bluebird, for instance, come in the last of February or the first weeks of March; but they are still here in the middle of May. The phoebe, meadowlark, cowbird, and woodcock arrive between March 10 and

March 20, and in mid-May still have representatives on the ground. To these are added, in the last third of March, kingfishers, doves, field sparrows and others, all of which may be noted in mid-May. In the middle of April the warblers begin to arrive; in the last ten days of that month more than a score of species drop in. And then, between May 1 and May 20, the great flight comes, with exactly and literally "fifty-seven varieties" of birds joining the earlier migrants.

#### *No One Date Finds All the Birds*

To be sure, before our field days of May 17 and 18, a few of the earlier comers had passed on to the north and were not at hand for us to identify. The fox sparrow had been gone a month and the hermit thrush for ten days or more. The pipit, Canada goose, scaup duck, pintail duck also have normally passed on. But with a dozen exceptions the spring arrivals were still in southern New York and New England.

All these birds referred to are those which have come from the South. But through the winter there have been no less than thirty-nine permanent residents which do not migrate, or do so only casually or partially. Also during the winter there is a chance of seeing twenty-four different species that disappear on a northward flight in the spring, and which had disappeared before our census date. If one were to note every bird that is present during any time of the year in the vicinity of New York, the census would run up to more than one hundred and seventy; but it would obviously be impossible to find so many at any given time, because of these variations in the date of migration.

It is not possible to get the finest feeling of the miracle of spring unless one wakes up to hear the call of a new bird species, or several of them, that have arrived during the night before. If one is fortunate enough to live near the favorite haunts of the Louisiana water thrush (to which it comes, in our experience, the first week of April, some days earlier than the time set by Chapman), one finds the very heart of the sentiment of spring, both the exuberance and the poignancy of its beauty, centered in the often repeated call note of this charming but very shy bird. There are ten days or two weeks in April, before the forest leaves are out, during which it might be said with some truth, that, without hearing



this note, a human being has missed for that period the full sense of the seasonal renaissance.

### *The Mystery of Migratory Flights*

The mystery of bird flights over vast distances that bring these engaging creatures to us has a great part in holding the interest of the observer. Here, in the middle of May, we find with our field glasses in the trees near our house, a diminutive, graceful puff of feathers, the blackpoll warbler, just arrived, flitting from branch to branch of a forest tree in an unending search for minute insects on the leaves; with its thin song notes fine as a cobweb, more like an insect's voice than a bird's, and utterly unlike any bird notes we have been hearing through the winter.

Where did he come from? Where is he going?

It is hard to believe, when one notes the fragile form of the little creature and its movements, seemingly designed to carry it only very short distances: this warbler probably started from Brazil; he may be on his way to Alaska to nest there, and if so, he will cover some 7000 miles in his spring moving. In any case it will not be less than 3500 miles. The golden plover may take a considerably longer journey; wintering in the La Plata region in South America, it does not begin domestic arrangements until it arrives on the shores of the Arctic Ocean.

These mysterious journeys of the birds—some species travel at night only, some by day only and others by night and day—are too fascinatingly mysterious to lure one into discussing them within the compass of a brief magazine article. The more one follows the studies of such migratory movements made by men like Chapman, Stone, Reid, Cooke and a score of others, the more stir will come to the imagination if one gets up at sunrise on a May morning to spend the day with congenial spirits searching the woods, fields, hedges, marshes, shores, and undergrowth along the trout streams, to capture the greatest possible number of trophies in the form of identified species.

### *A Favorable Day for "Getting" Birds*

We met at six o'clock on May 17, a morning of magic beauty after rain through the preceding day and evening. The opening dogwood blossoms were hung with raindrops which, viewed at the right angle,

in the long slanting rays of the newly risen sun showed as veritable Kohinoors, flashing and changing in color through their brief life as no mere diamond ever could. There was no wind to drown bird notes and discourage bird movements, and the visibility was fair—a bit too much moisture and haze, perhaps; but that was vastly better than one of the garish, too-bright days, with a dazzling sun, when things "jump out at you." Birds, fishes, and mammals seem to hate such days (generally brought by northeast airs), feeling no doubt that they are too conspicuous; and it is often maddening to the bird student in such crass sunlight to fail to get a clear view of the markings of some small warbler because of dazzling interference from a too brilliant light.

We first spent a couple of hours in the woods and grounds around the house where we later took breakfast. Perhaps it would be as well to arrange the report of our findings not by any scientific, or even half-scientific, method, but roughly, by the places in which we found the birds. This division will not be exactly correct, but will be sufficiently so for practical purposes.

### *Rules of the Game*

We had field glasses, of course; it is a mistake to have these too powerful in the woods and undergrowth and fields. Glasses that would be all right for salt-water expanses, in observing ducks, geese, gulls, and shore birds, would be a nuisance for the shorter range observations of the uplands.

Certain rules of the game had been provided. We agreed to consider that a species was identified where we heard its call note or song, even if we had not seen the bird—provided it was one whose note was absolutely distinctive and our knowledge of it so perfect that there could not be a mistake. Thus a quail's "bob, bob white!" was ample, without catching sight of the bird. So also was the curious nasal twang of the night-jar, hunting on the wing the upper coverts of the afternoon air for insects, and the eerie call of his close cousin the whippoorwill, impossible to mistake through aural evidence.

On the other hand, there were several of the warblers which one could not dare to swear to through their notes alone. Their thin, glassy, insect-like, wiry trills and warbles are too much confused in some cases for any but a thorough naturalist to be sure. The notes of the water thrush

(one of the warblers) are distinctive enough, as are those of the oven bird, and the clownish chat. The black and white warbler, too, cannot be mistaken even by knowledgeable amateurs; nor the blue-winged warbler or the Kentucky warbler or redstart. But there are thirty-nine species of these charming and fairy-like little creatures, the warblers, and we heard in our two days several which we *thought* we could identify but did not note because there was some uncertainty left in our minds.

#### *Birds Noted Close to the House*

Before breakfast, then, and around the house or within two hundred yards of it, we noted the following: Robin, chipping sparrow, catbird, wren, song sparrow, crow, rose-breasted grosbeak, oven bird, wood thrush, brown thrasher, magnolia warbler, towhee, black-billed cuckoo, flicker, blue jay, black and white warbler, black-throated green warbler, Maryland yellowthroat, chimney swift, worm-eating warbler, starling, English sparrow, black-crowned night heron, veery, black-throated blue warbler, blue-wing warbler, Parula warbler, redstart, Phoebe, goldfinch, blackpoll warbler, scarlet tanager, Louisiana water thrush, crested flycatcher, yellow-throated vireo, black duck, red-eyed vireo, purple grackle, humming bird, field sparrow, mourning dove, chestnut-sided warbler, whippoorwill, and white-crowned sparrow.

Here are 44 species safely identified in the first two hours and before we had gone to the shores of the salt water to get the aquatic and marsh birds which would not be around our inland homes. But this was only a fair start—not a particularly brilliant one. Perhaps a larger percentage of the whole than is represented by 44 species should have been found by four active observers before breakfast. That is the time of the day birds are most in evidence, feeding actively or busy in their nest-building operations.

#### *A Try at the Water Fowl*

Immediately after our cup of coffee, we motored to the shore of Long Island Sound, at a point three or four miles away where a long peninsula jutting out into the water is protected from shooting. Here we obtained on this day and the following one a number of birds that one would not note once in a lifetime in the uplands, together with a few that might be found either along

the shore or back in the country: Canada goose, herring gull, laughing gull, loon, red-breasted merganser, bobolink, sparrow hawk, long-billed marsh wren, bank swallow, turnstone, semipalmated plover, red-backed sandpiper, least sandpiper, American merganser, vesper sparrow, mallard, semipalmated sandpiper, kingfisher, meadow lark.

Thus, our visit to the salt water added 19 species, not many for the time consumed and the distance covered; but the bag included some, such as the gulls, mergansers, sandpipers, geese and marsh wrens, only to be found on or near the salt water.

#### *Identifying Species from a Motor*

From the Sound we motored, with short stops now and then in favorable places, back into the hills to a secluded meadow where a trout stream emerged from a long, wild, wooded ravine. One can do quite a bit of identification from the motor if it is not going too fast; on the journey itself of six or seven miles we picked up the following: yellow warbler, Baltimore oriole, red-wing blackbird, barn swallow, kingbird, bluebird, cowbird, indigo bunting, least flycatcher and sharp-shin hawk.

Arrived at the trout stream we were not in much luck; it was near noon and birds were not in evidence. We had counted on finding a bittern in the meadow, several having been seen there by a member of our party while fishing; but it was not at home. We did, however, come across in the forest of the ravine and the growth by the stream: hairy woodpecker, chickadee, downy woodpecker, green heron, ruffed grouse, brown creeper, hooded warbler.

It was lunch time and we went home, without adding on the journey a single new bird to the 80 species collected between six o'clock in the morning and one in the afternoon.

#### *Hard Work and Some Luck*

After lunch one of the party rode on a horse, primarily on other business, and added to the total: solitary sandpiper, wood pewee, yellow-breasted chat, red-shouldered hawk, white-eyed vireo, English pheasant, orchard oriole, killdeer, bob white, night hawk, woodcock, helldiver, great blue heron, and bittern.

The last additions came very slowly. After 80 birds have been noted, it may be only the five-hundredth or thousandth

individual seen that will not belong to a species already listed. Yet the hard work of that period is varied, now and again, by astonishing strokes of luck. For instance, as one man's complete list was being copied to hand in to his comrades, he was seated on his porch, surrounded by forest trees, and on the verge of a wooded ravine through which a small trout brook tumbled and sung. Just as he had copied the last name on his list, the clear notes of the Kentucky warbler sounded in the trees not fifty feet away, and there came to him in this pleasant and unexpected manner the rarest and most valued item on his individual list. Again, we were late in the day "getting" a yellow-breasted chat. One of the party went, on a long chance, to a bushy hillside sloping gently to the southeast, so that the summer sun would beat down on it on the theory that there was where a chat ought to be—and there he was.

On the next day, May 18, a portion of the party revisited the shore and added there and elsewhere to the net list: red-breasted nuthatch, blackburnian warbler, spotted sandpiper, white-winged scoter, osprey, Savannah sparrow, lesser yellowlegs, Canadian warbler, bald eagle, red-tailed hawk, white-breasted nuthatch, Cooper's hawk, yellow-billed cuckoo, swamp sparrow, tree swallow, cedar bird, Acadian flycatcher, Nashville warbler, northern water thrush, sapsucker, blue-headed vireo, and grasshopper sparrow.

#### *Some Comments on the Bag*

An inspection of the total bag for the two days shows that the party identified twenty-one species of warblers out of the thirty-nine species extant in the eastern States. Some of these thirty-nine varieties are, however, very rare; a few others are scarcely found in the latitude of Greenwich, Connecticut, earlier. (Ten days earlier or ten days later we should have found not more than half or two-thirds as many of the warblers, and we felt reasonably well satisfied with the results. It is the warbler family which most challenges the eyesight and patience of your census taker. There are so many different species; they are, with the exception of the chat, water-thrushes, oven bird, and one or two others,

such diminutive, restless creatures, with notes often bearing a confusing family resemblance one to another; they are so often flitting through dense foliage in their feeding moments—that no one amateur observer can hope in his lifetime to become letter-perfect as to the very last warbler species.

In the list of birds seen before breakfast, close to the house, the black-crowned night heron appears; it is, of course, anything but a bird of the lawns and shrubbery; the pair noted were flying overhead at sunrise, returning from their nocturnal feeding in some marsh. The same remark should be made in regard to the black duck listed in this block of identifications. On the trip to the shore, too, some explanation should be made: the wild geese were only half-wild, though they could fly and were nesting in a natural state; they are the most questionable item on the entire list, as Canada geese should not be seen on the Long Island Sound on May 17, and would not be seen but for human intervention in their flight. The bald eagle, noted on the second day, is rarely seen about Greenwich, and his appearance here is simply a lucky chance.

#### *A New York Census Compared*

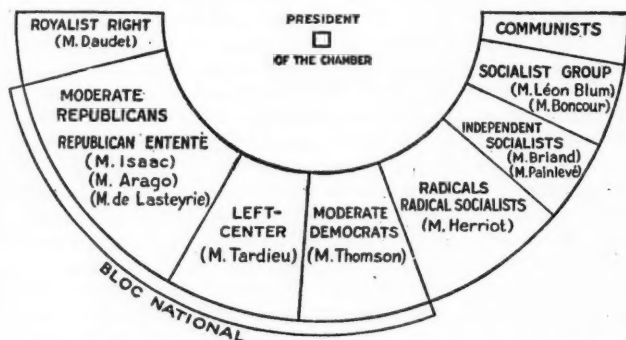
It may be of interest to compare the results of this western Connecticut bird census with one made on practically the same date in the country west of the Hudson River, a short distance south of West Point. Here members of the Green Mountain Club found a total of 72 species, starting at daybreak. Although they found 45 fewer than the Greenwich amateurs, the New Yorkers had several birds in their list not noted in the Connecticut census. Of these, the turkey buzzard and the hermit thrush were to be expected; the buzzard appears only very rarely in Connecticut, as a "stray"—the hermit thrush had passed through some weeks before the census was taken, but no doubt nests in the wooded hills near Tomkins Cove, where the New Yorkers were searching. Other birds in their smaller list and not in our larger one were the purple finch, Tennessee warbler, and Cape May warbler. They naturally missed most of the water birds noted from the shore of Long Island Sound.



# LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

## The Program of French Liberals Outlined by the New Premier

ONE of the most interesting contributions to the current number of *Foreign Affairs* (New York) is an article on the program of Liberal France by M. Edouard Herriot, the leader of the Radical Party, who is now Premier. It is impossible to do more than indicate a few of the outstanding points in M. Herriot's comprehensive discussion. He begins with a sketch of what he calls the "topographical" position of his party which, accustomed as it was to power in the days before the war, found itself in the recent Parliament reduced to the rôle of the Opposition. Here M. Herriot supplies a diagram showing the relative positions of the groups or blocs in the recent French Chamber:



Our readers may be interested to examine this diagram in connection with the treatment of current French politics by Mr. Simonds on pages 43-46. M. Herriot explains that his party has as neighbors on the Left the Independent Socialists represented by M. Briand and M. Painlevé; on the Right, the group of the Moderate Democrats, subdivided into several factions. Among the principal leaders of the Radical Party in past years Léon Bourgeois was the most

outstanding. But M. Herriot prefers to define a political party by its doctrines rather than by the individuals composing it. He therefore sets forth briefly but clearly the fundamental program of the French radicals in both foreign and domestic policy. Assuming that Americans will be interested especially in the French foreign policy, he first states the position of the Radical Party with regard to Germany. Like the other French parties of to-day, the Radicals associate themselves with the national claims of France for reparations. This problem seems to the Radicals to be one of moral-ity even more than of economics or finance.

For the economic solution we cheerfully accept the report of the experts. But Germany must carry out its provisions. We should take it in the worst possible part if, by citing misfortunes which she has in large part brought down on her own head, Germany, where imperialism still lingers, should escape from her obligations with the complicity of certain other nations. That would lead directly and inevitably to war—on that day when German industrial capitalism was able to draw upon the resources accumulated in foreign countries and mobilize against us the wealth which it had not only preserved but increased.

This being said, it must be added that we nevertheless will not associate ourselves in any manner with the policies of nationalists and chauvinists. To wish for the destruction of Germany is stupid from both the moral and political point of view. A people cannot be destroyed. Napoleon, in spite of all his military genius, proved this once for all. We regret sincerely that the French Government has failed to make a distinction between the Germany of the Junkers—which still lives—and democratic Germany, which is still very weak but which should be encouraged to gather its forces.

French democrats, declares M. Herriot,

are earnestly desirous of a permanent and friendly accord with Great Britain. Recognizing the profound differences between the French and the British system of national ethics, M. Herriot is convinced that the two countries are complementary nations "whose mutual accord forms the indispensable adjunct for the establishment of world peace."

So long as international agencies of arbitration fail to undertake the preservation of world peace, the coalition between the Liberals of England and the Radicals of France appears indispensable, if Europe is to be saved from some of the follies to which she is so often subjected.

As to Russia, the French Radicals are under no illusions. They think of it as "a country gripped in the last convulsions of Communism." The Soviet Government, says M. Herriot, seems set upon justifying all the prejudices against it. In spite of all the errors and excesses of the Soviet régime, M. Herriot declares that "it is by charity, patience and tolerance that we can be of service to Russia. One combats violence effectively only by keeping cool." He is willing to leave the Russian problem to what he describes as "the spirit of liberty."

On the day when the democrats of the world resume normal relations, or at least commercial relations, with the Bolsheviks, Europe will not have been Bolshevized, but rather the Bolsheviks will have become transformed. On the day when Soviet diplomats are received at Paris and Washington, they will not impose on their colleagues the Russian blouse; they will be the most faithful propagandists of the dinner-jacket.

M. Herriot alludes to the hopes that were raised among the French Radicals when the Covenant of the League of Nations was embodied in the Peace Treaty. They did not look upon peace as an abstraction. The League of Nations seemed to them the embryo of a future international organization; and for the struggle against the *Internationales*, whether Socialists or Communists, it offered the best possible instrument.

It was a great blow to us when the United States refused to become a party to these hopes. I have no intention of judging the actions of good and true friends, much less to complain of them. I merely deplore them. The arguments used against the

League are perhaps valid in view of traditions which have their merit and usefulness. But it was on another plane—on a higher plane—that we wished to place ourselves. We hoped little by little to lead the world to undertake a great task of recreation. We thought we were to see the fulfilment of the most beautiful words of the Evangelist. Was not this our plain and pressing duty—rising above all the conventions of the past—towards those whose glowing youth is to-day beaten to the earth? It was a revolution, the most idealistic, the most noble, that could be attempted—the revolution for peace.

But great works require faith. Only faith can create. To create is to believe. Though we are ready to defer to the criticisms of our American friends, we nevertheless beg them to sit down with us at the peace table. It is good to succor orphans; it is a finer thing to leave them their fathers. More, far more, than any political duty is the moral duty which calls us to join forces.

The League of Nations will be reformed. *But it is necessary to reform it from within, not attack it from without.* I look forward to the day when the democratic people of America will say to the democrats of France: "We are here!"

We can touch upon only a few of the points brought out by M. Herriot in his discussion of the internal policy of France. One principle of the Radical Party is unswerving neutrality towards all religious faiths. In that matter the Radicals are opposed to the Conservative parties of the Right.

In finance the Radicals have stood consistently for the income tax. If this method of taxation had been vigorously enforced during the war, it is believed that France would have come nearer to balancing receipts and expenditure as Great Britain did, instead of having recourse to loans.

The Radical Party remains firmly attached to the principle of private property, but that does not preclude assigning the state its share in national resources. Without defending State monopolies in their present form, the Radicals would be glad to see the state take back control of the railways and of organizations which are indispensable to the national well-being.

The party is committed to the doctrine of a single school system, providing that all children destined for the university shall begin in the primary schools—

in contradistinction to the present system whereby children of wealthy parents receive their first actual instruction at the *lycée*. This is the method, in our opinion, of inducing true equality.



M. HERRIOT MAKING A CAMPAIGN SPEECH



## Louis Raemaekers, the Dutch Cartoonist

MANY of our readers will recall the work of the great Dutch cartoonist, Louis Raemaekers, during the Great War. A writer in *De Hollandsche Revue* for March last describes his home in Brussels and reports some of his pithy comments as expressed in a recent interview.

Raemaekers is young still, blond and florid, and conventional in dress and manner as he stands in his study among his Chinese *bibelots*, the walls covered with drawings and landscapes.

Behind his head the lake was seen through the plants and ivy on the balcony. Raemaekers said to his visitor:

I cannot endure the conditions in Holland. You know, of course, everything about the German invasion of Holland. In India itself?—No, in New Guinea—I had a drawing the other day in *De Telegraaf*. Have you seen it? In Holland everything is German, the banks, the hotels, all the business houses and the people in them. And then reparation payments. You understand that Germany won't give up a cent, they are only trying to give the impression that they are too poor, especially now that the Allied Commissions are active in the country. France and America need only remember that even the Dutch Red Cross helps support Germany so it must be on its legs. But Germany scraped up 8,000 gold marks to stir up trouble in the Ruhr and encourage sabotage. France ought to have got that money, but four years before poor Germany had carefully begged for a moratorium.

While England does not want a powerful France nor an independent Balkans, France needs an autonomous, strong Poland, and an independent *Petite Entente* as a safety measure. Lloyd George always struggled against that and Curzon too. The present situation is frequently blamed on Poincaré, but he cannot act otherwise. Probably Briand was weak, but France can't go back now.

When the Russian Red Army stood before the walls of Warsaw and made peace proposals, Lloyd George advised the Poles to accept them. But the British Premier had false proposals before him, peace proposals from which all communistic and Bolshevistic tendencies had been eliminated. France came to Poland's aid, sent General Weygand and beat back the Russians. The victorious Poles should have gone on to Moscow, but England knew how to ward that off. The Greeks attacked Turkey on England's advice and you remember the fiasco in Asia Minor. I spoke about that one in England with Venizelos. Think of Charnak too. The English government ordered General Harrington to fire on the Turks. Harrington, who was a diplomat, was wiser and didn't obey. He was then with 10,000 men against 100,000 men. That's England. Hilaire Belloc wrote on that last month. The English don't know anything about that or any international political move. The Briton never reads a foreign newspaper. I used to look everywhere for one when I was in London.

To a question whether Raemaekers himself is anti-German, he replied:

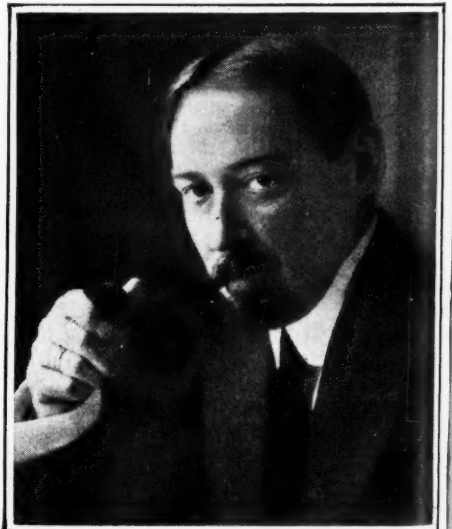
I am not anti-German. I have been a lot in Germany, I have many friends there and admire German art and literature. I admire a lot in the German character too. And besides, the world needs Germany and can't do without German industry. But there are things that I hate in Germans. They think that Holland must be German, that as the King of Bavaria said in 1917, the Rhine should be a German river from the source to the mouth. They are always thinking about it and speaking about it, and have always done so. And I am opposed to that!

Did you know that my mother was a German?

Yes, and a Rhinelander [Raemaekers went on]. I hate Prussians, but above all I abhor everything that is imported into the German people's character by the Prussians, the Wends, the Borussians and the Pomeranians. This is the "Holland will ask for annexation" idea.

As a boy I read a lot of papers, German, French and English. My father who was saturated with French literature and a politician taught me how to size up the political situation. So I developed my own ideas and the war gave me a welcome opportunity to express them. But the ideas were not new then, I had always thought so.

After the war—dreadful! No one who has ever seen it ever wants another. I came to Brussels. My children had had French lessons and it is a center not too far from Holland. I went to the Pyrenees, St. Juan de Luz and then to Tangiers. The simple architecture of four square blocks did me so much good. And fine places too. I remember one blind beggar, a giant six feet high.



LOUIS RAEMAEKERS, THE FAMOUS DUTCH CARTOONIST OF THE WAR PERIOD

## An Expert Reviews the Dawes Report

NO ONE is in a better position to judge fairly the difficulties encountered by the Dawes Committee in its great task than Mr. Roland W. Boyden, who served for four years as American Observer, with the Reparations Commission. In the current number of *Foreign Affairs* (New York), Mr. Boyden summarizes the fundamental features of the Dawes Report, estimates the probable effect of the Committee's proposals and indicates his own opinion of their value.

As to the authoritative nature of the report, Mr. Boyden says:

The report is the first authoritative statement of fundamentals in reparation history. Whatever its immediate fate, it constitutes a milestone. A step has been taken from which there is no turning back. The financial needs of the Allies, our wishes and our prejudices, Germany's responsibility for the war, her over-worked printing press, the escape of her capital, extravagance in her cafés and by her tourists, her smoking chimneys, her magnificent plant, her genius for organization, will never again be sufficient in themselves to convince anybody that Germany can pay in full. Anyone hitherto satisfied to stop thinking at some one of these points must know now that, *after giving to all of them, their full weight*, there remain limiting economic factors, which, if not taken into account, will kill the goose.

Referring to the suggestion made by Secretary Hughes at New Haven in December, 1922, that men of the highest authority in finance be invited to devise a plan for the payment of reparations, Mr. Boyden remarks:

Not a profoundly original thought; just plain common sense, and, therefore, an exceptional flight of statesmanship—not because statesmen have no common sense, but because the simple things which, if they were plain citizens responsible only to themselves, they would do without thinking twice, are difficult for statesmen.

What Secretary Hughes suggested is what has happened. Men of the highest authority and prestige, experience and honor, have agreed upon a financial plan for working out the payments, and this plan is, and will remain, the most authoritative expression obtainable.

Declaring that the restoration of financial confidence is the real test by which to measure the accomplishment of the Dawes Committee and commenting on the fact that the Committee recognizes and emphasizes this necessity, Mr. Boyden says:

The Committee's emphasis on the necessity of restoring confidence is most useful. But equally useful is the impression of sincerity which the report



MR. ROLAND W. BOYDEN, WHO STUDIED THE REPARATIONS PROBLEM FOR FOUR YEARS AT FIRST HAND

as a whole makes upon the reader. The reader feels that these men believe what they say. They have really tried to forget politics and prejudice, and to solve a problem. The Committee was in substance an arbitral tribunal on matters of highest international importance which had long been the subject of heated controversy. The ring of sincerity which pervades its report is no small part of the Committee's accomplishment.

This ring of sincerity is all the more important because the tribunal is not, from the point of view of a German, an unbiased tribunal. It would have been better if neutral representatives had been included in the Committee. Its conclusions would not have been substantially modified, and would have seemed more convincing to the Germans. It is natural, when you have the power to do so, to want to control the tribunal which is to decide your own case; but when one essential is that the other party shall have confidence in the decision, your control of the tribunal is a handicap. The obvious conviction of the Committee will help greatly to overcome this handicap.

The presence of Owen Young and General Dawes upon the Committee—though citizens of an "Associated Power"—adds great weight to its conclusions. It would be a mistake to attribute the Committee's success wholly to them, but it is an equal mistake not to realize that it would be impossible without them. We know that the unanimity in which they participate does not mean what unanimity has so often meant in the past in

decisions presented to the Germans—the unanimity of half-baked, futile compromise in which, to make ostensible unanimity, political considerations were allowed to control economic reality. Neither of these Americans lacks sense or courage. They would have stood alone if that had been necessary. A German may be excused for not knowing all this as well as we do, and yet with but little exercise of the imagination he too can see that Messrs. Young and Dawes were in one sense a separate tribunal. They occupied a position of real independence, because their dissent would have been serious, not to themselves, but to any plan from which they dissented, and to the currencies of the other countries represented on the Committee. There was no serious possibility that pressure upon Messrs. Young and Dawes would persuade them to yield any conviction.

Reviewing the workings of the old reparation program with practically unlimited obligations, with no reliable safeguards, and backed by armed force, Mr. Boyden is convinced that the “financial reign of terror” in Germany was the logical outcome of such a procedure.

It is safe to say that if the safeguards of the Dawes report had been embodied in the original treaty system and applied in the spirit of the Dawes report, Germany would have paid far more than she has paid in the last five years, and would have been in far better condition today to continue payment.

If the guaranteeing principles, which are the

foundation stones of the Dawes report, are accepted, the long reign of terror will be ended. Exchange will be stabilized; the budget can be balanced; taxes, while high, will not be destructive. These are the conditions of sound finance, under which private citizens may work and save and prosper, under which foreign credit for commercial transactions may be obtained under pre-war conditions, under which foreign trade can flourish, under which reparations can be paid. The debt may remain as it is, but the impossible part of it, whether large or small, will not threaten either the state or the private citizen. No one who followed Austria's descent into the depths of the financial slough of despond, and then witnessed the transformation which followed when hope and, later, confidence succeeded despair, as the result of the League of Nations' Relief Plan, will ever doubt again the miraculous economic effect of hope and confidence. The Dawes plan means the same thing for Germany.

Mr. Boyden directs our attention to the fact that there were earlier opportunities for doing just what the Dawes Committee has now done.

In concluding his article Mr. Boyden says:

Alexander Hamilton “smote the rock of national resources and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of Public Credit and it sprang upon its feet.” This is almost too “high-falutin” for us moderns, but nevertheless Dawes and his Committee have smitten mightily and well. If Public Credit does not rise again; if the possible revenue does not gush, the fault will not be theirs.

## Another Mr. Dooley on American Immigration

ON THE preference shown by the U. S. A. for Nordic immigrants “Sergeant Murphy's” views are reported in the *English Review* (London):

“I see Pilburn is going to emigrate to the United States,” remarked Mr. Heddle.

“Pilburn—Pilburn,” repeated Sergeant Murphy. “Let me see. Round-skulled, dark, inclined to thick ankles. They won't have him. He's not Nordic. Nothin' but Nordics is bein' accepted now, and thim only under pressure of the Road-makin' Thrust, who are short of cheap min to handle the pick-axe.”

“What's all that about?” asked the landlord.

“Sure, haven't you heard tell of the new U. S. A. policy, Heddle? It's the sinsation of the day. They used to grade the emmygrints be the number of dollars they had—or more likely hadn't. Now they're gradin' thim accordin' to race, and a brunette like you, Heddle, has as much chance of gettin' into the United States as a rich man has of climbin' through the eye of a camel. Me bein' a blonde and long-headed—sure it's the devil's own job to get a hat to fit me—am Nordic, which manes that I'm superior and wan of the world's rulers from nine till six, and nine till wan Sathurdays, outside the *Daily Hoot* offices. The likes of

me is what they want to maintain the high standard of civilization which America has attained except in the lynchin' areas.

“Let us,” says Congress, ‘dam the sthream of min that ought to but don't shave twice a day. The banana thrade is overcrowded. Statistics show that four out of every five persons convicted of petty larceny are brunettes, while the blondes reserve for themselves the more jinteel pastime of oil graft. The average golf handicap of the brunettes is in the late twinties, while a blonde with more than eighteen is excommunicated be his fellow athletes. And so on and so forth to siven places of decimals.

“Therefore, from now on open arms will be held out to the blue-eyed, fair-haired European that seeks our shores, and firearms to anny man with dark complexion that thries to edge himself in among us.”

“... And that's why in the future the brunettes will enther America in a thrickle, while the blondes will sweep in like a torrent. And in maybe two thousand years from now, Heddle, the man that can boast of bein' wan hundherd per cent. American will have somethin' to boast of.”

“What's one hundred per cent. American at present?” asked Heddle.

“I don't know,” replied the Sergeant. “Maybe Choctaw.”

## An Intimate Study of Present-Day Germany

THE brief article by Dr. Kuno Francke in the *Atlantic* for June, on "Intellectual Currents in Contemporary Germany," is made doubly valuable by his unique position and personality. Already marked as a brilliant and rising scholar at home, he was called from Berlin to Harvard just forty years ago, and has ever since been widening and deepening our education in this very subject. He had an honorable right to display the hyphenate in the very title of his most strenuous and pathetic utterance: "A German-American's Confession of Faith" (1915). His voice has been too rarely heard since.

Absolute cheeriness can not be expected:

Wherever the German of to-day looks he sees popular misery, foreign oppression, national disintegration and decay.

The especial occasion of this article is, in part, three "old home" visits (1911, 1920, 1923), the first for the great June review of Wilhelm's navy, the later ones to take part in the "Autumnal Week for Art and Science," in the American professor's native city, Kiel. History presents few such contrasts as the first and last of these visions. There is an undertone even of humble confession, perhaps, or at least abnegation of prophetic foresight, in the sentence, following a brilliant sketch of Germany in 1911:

That this mighty empire and this brilliant civilization rested after all upon feet of clay, that they had

been put in the service of a policy which ignored the fundamental conditions of healthy progress—respect for personal freedom and earnest desire for international brotherhood—and therefore was bound to conjure up fatal conflicts within and without—this is a truth which was hardly realized even by the most enlightened before the war.

That the classes most active, and most favored, under Hohenzollernism are still unreconciled, and even reactionary, is accepted as natural, even as to the universities; yet it is bitterly deplored that the whole scholarly teaching class did not "rally to the young Weimar republic, accept its ideals of popular government, and make itself the mouthpiece of an enlightened internationalism." So reluctantly it is admitted that there lies heavy and dark, even over intellectual Germany, "the atmosphere of resentment and despair." This state of the scholarly German mind is both illustrated and intensified by the extraordinary absorption of the reading public, for the last five years, in a single powerful, stimulating and most ill-timed book—Oswald Spengler's "Downfall of the Occident." Its general dogma is that each great cultural cycle spends itself, ages and dies within about a thousand years. The two chief cycles of the past are the Greco-Roman and, less vital to us, the Arabic. We of the present day have already entered the Alexandrian or Roman-imperial epoch, when civilization may still broaden through larger masses, but the culmination of



THE RECENT ELECTIONS IN GERMANY—DR. MARX, THE CHANCELLOR, LEAVING THE POLLING PLACE AFTER VOTING



highest culture, of true progress, is hopelessly past. Such pessimism appeals to those who saw in Bismarck's career the ideal of human achievement. It is peculiarly difficult for an American to grasp at all.

Even the weekly festivals in Kiel and elsewhere are, after all, but revivals of the drama, the music and other art-works of the past generations, especially those since Lessing's day. Two essential German qualities survive to afford larger hope: the passion for exhaustive, thorough work, and the love for things spiritual. (Harden's emphatic differentiation of the true German from the Prussian would have been in order here.) One amazing but conclusive testimony is cited, which far exceeds the records of Prescott and Parkman, stimulated to loftiest activity by lifelong physical handicaps, but in luxurious environment.

... Professors of many different German universities were unanimous that they never had had such students as now. A feverish thirst for learning, they said, seemed to have taken possession of them; and no privations or hardships, no unheated rooms, no lack of light, no empty stomachs, no threadbare clothes, no difficulties in obtaining a book or scientific instrument, no hard bodily work in factories or warehouses could dampen the enthusiasm with which these youths plunged into intellectual pursuits.

The last pages of the article point out three present-day authors, widely diverse in their views, in all of whom the writer finds more hopeful tones and mental states than the prevailing despair and resentment. Of these, Count Keyserling is more brilliant and daring than either Foerster or Steiner.

He is fearless in summing up the decisive results of the war:

Perhaps never before was a people, as a thing of the past, so entirely done for as the German people to-day. The heroic figures of its great tradition are gone; the representatives of its most recent past have proved incapable of satisfying the demands of a new spirit of the times. . . . But on the other hand, never before did a people in like circumstances bear so much future in itself. It is the most youthful, most virile, most promising people of all Europe. . . . It has suffered less in quality through the war than most other belligerents. Now its task is to understand its character and its mission correctly and to remodel its type accordingly. . . . If Germany remodels herself in accordance with the needs of the time, then her speedy rise is beyond all question. For she has before her a goal of such tremendous import that all the experiences of the past pale before it.

This great future seems to be leadership in creating a socialized and industrial organization of the state which will assure it the leadership in any future world organization of the World state or federation. So is justified the opening quotation from Nietzsche as its keynote:

The Germans have as yet no to-day; they are of the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow.

Nevertheless, all historical parallels—which Athens in 404 B.C. would best appeal to the German soul—seem to urge moderation in such far-reaching hopes. It is not easy to point to a people that even won, utterly lost, and yet regained such leadership of mankind as Roosevelt in 1910 ascribed to Germany.

## Invisible Government in Germany

"THE formation and existence of extra-legal or secret societies with political aims," says Mr. R. B. Mowat, writing in *Discovery* (London), "is a characteristic of all states in which the central authority has become weak. It was so in the decline of the Roman Empire, it is so in Germany and in China to-day." Americans will recall a signal example in the case of the original Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction Period in the South. Mr. Mowat, who is a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, tells of the remarkable prevalence of such societies at the present time in Germany, and shows how history has repeated itself in this matter. More than a century ago German

secret societies rebuilt their nation, after the defeats of the Napoleonic wars.

In Prussia and other German states after the war of 1806, the more thoughtful and public-spirited people—the statesman, Stein, the teacher, Fichte, the soldier, Scharnhorst—set themselves to the task of reviving the German spirit, of rekindling national sentiment, of restoring and renewing the machinery of the state which had failed under the test of the war. There were three ways by which the energetic and public-spirited among the Germans tried to restore the national spirit and strength, and to prepare the people for the day which they were certain would come for once again measuring their strength with that of their conqueror. The three ways were, firstly, administrative and military reform; this was the work of Stein and Scharnhorst. The second, was educational and literary; this was

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the work of Fichte, the philosopher, Niebuhr, the historian, Gentz, the supreme journalist or "publicist"—these and a host of others. The third method for restoring the national spirit and strength was secret societies, of which the best known was the famous *Tugendbund* or Union of Virtue, which had a branch or unit in every university, and perhaps in every town in Germany.

This society and a host of others were a source of much concern to the French authorities in the occupied and protected German territories, as evidenced in the official reports of the period, preserved in the French archives. Since the close of the World War much has been heard about the activities of similar societies in Germany, but the most tangible evidence on the subject was that which came to light in the course of the recent trials in Munich resulting from the Hitler-Ludendorff *Putsch* of November, 1923.

In the course of the trial, evidence emerged to show that the societies concerned in or sympathetic with the actions of Herr Hitler and General Ludendorff had certain general aims in common. These common aims appear to be as follows. Firstly, these societies are, naturally, nationalist: they are anxious to revive or maintain national, German sentiment. Secondly, they are anti-Communist, or anti-Marxian, as this aim was called in the Munich evidence. Thirdly, they are anti-Semitic, aiming at "freeing" Germany from so-called "Jewish capitalism." Fourthly (this is more doubtful) the societies, or some of them, are perhaps monarchist, aiming at the substitution of a crown in place of the presidency.

Some of the associations are said to be organized and inspired by the celebrated Captain Ehrhardt. The names of these associations are given in an interesting report in the *Times* newspaper for March 18, as the *Vikingbund*, the *Blucherbund*, the *Reichsflagge* (more probably the *Reichskriegsflagge* or Empire's War-flag), and the *Chiemgau*. These are apparently military associations, so organized that the members, who are grouped in the towns and cities, can be "mobilized."



ADOLF HITLER, THE GERMAN  
REVOLUTIONARY LEADER

It is said that there are numerous quasi-military associations, which retain, in civil life, the names, registers and mobilization instructions of the regiments of the German army of the war-period. There is also believed to be a *German Fighting League*.

Many of the societies have probably a political and economic aim, namely, to preserve society on the basis of Western civilization; they stand for individualism and private property. Such societies arose out of the circumstances of the Communist or "Spartacist" risings of 1919, and they are therefore similar, both in aims and organization, to the Italian Fascist associations.

## An Historical Document

SPECIAL students of history, and particularly of secret diplomacy, should have their attention called to the leading article in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for May, which has just reached this country. The writer is the veteran counselor for Russian affairs to the Imperial Foreign Office, Ludwig Raschdau, who appears to have been very close to all three Hohenzollern régimes.

It is well known that the younger Wilhelm, upon his accession in 1888, made a round of visits at the European capitals, giving especial attention to England and to Russia, which was regarded as the most

hostile of all to German interests. Two years later, just after the summary dismissal of Prince Bismarck, the visit in St. Petersburg was repeated.

On March 23, 1890, a few days after Bismarck's retirement, in a session of the political section of the Foreign Office, presided over by General von Caprivi, the decision was reached not to renew the secret treaty which is now generally known under the name of the "back-protection treaty" (*Rückversicherungsvertrag*). The records of the office contain not the slightest allusion to this action. Only later did the Imperial Chancellor then in office feel the need, in his relations with the Russian cabinet, to secure support for his own responsibility in the written statements which he demanded from

those who had taken part in that conference. That is the origin of the recorded opinions which now appear in the second series of the public documents of the office. As is therein revealed, I was the only one who argued against an immediate break, advising negotiations which might throw the responsibility on Russia. . . .

A few months later Wilhelm II paid his second visit—to prove that the relations of the two empires were unchanged. General von Caprivi had to accompany him, most reluctantly, and I was attached to the Chancellor's staff. The new chancellor, feeling utterly incompetent to cope with the astute and potentially hostile diplomats of Petrograd, eagerly accepted my offer from his expert adviser to draw up a connected account of the relations and secret negotiations with Russia, especially since the invasion of France twenty years earlier.

It is this very frank and confidential paper that is now published by its venerable author. "Verbatim et literatim?" Well, almost. "Only stylistic changes and a few unimportant abbreviations." There is only the curtest necessary annotation. A few sentences near the close will illustrate the freedom of the utterance, when Wilhelm was only two years on the throne and was

just assuming autocratic control in foreign relations.

In 1888, the third German emperor had mounted the throne. So far as the Outland was concerned, his repute for martial ambition came before him, and fears were everywhere expressed. A leading Russian paper had declared, most tactlessly, that the proposed visit was an indication that the desire for a rapprochement was felt more strongly in Berlin than in Petrograd. The personal impression left upon the Czar was, according to all reports, wholly favorable. He is quoted as saying: "As long as I am alive, I will never quarrel with Germany." But such assurances did not suffice to improve materially the long-existing condition of insincere peace between the two nations. Another word of the Czar had excited all Europe and was far more memorable: "I have no friend, save the Prince, of Montenegro."

There was abundant reason why the young Kaiser should be distrusted by the Czar. In his father's and grandfather's lifetime he had secretly sent to the Czar an amazing series of most unfilial and treasonable letters, pretending to set Russia's welfare, or the Czar's, above all else in the world.

## Armament Reduction and the League

THE merits and demerits of the recent project of a treaty looking toward international agreement on the reduction of armaments, are studied by Carlo Schanzer in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). On the whole he does not express himself very optimistically as to the character of this project, which has been elaborated by a commission appointed by the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations for this purpose.

The project opens with a declaration that "the high contracting parties, considering how best to lay the foundations of an organization of mutual assistance, in order to facilitate the application of the articles of the League of Nations relating to a reduction or limitation of national armaments, affirm that an aggressive war constitutes an international crime, and solemnly bind themselves not to commit this crime."

However, as war cannot be entirely suppressed, the contracting parties engage, individually and collectively, to assist any one of them which may be the victim of a war of aggression, on condition that the party attacked shall have conformed with the dispositions of this treaty regarding the reduction or limitation of armaments. This

might induce one to believe that the treaty itself included a general plan for such a reduction, but this is not so. It merely contains a declaration that each party engages to make known to the Council of the League the reductions or limitations of armaments it considers desirable. The parties engage, moreover, to coöperate for the realization of the general plan for reduction which the Council of the League may propose. This plan is then to be submitted to the examination and decision of the various governments, and, after having been approved by them, shall constitute the basis of the proposed reduction.

One of the most fundamental articles of the project defines what shall be the task of the Council on an outbreak of hostilities. It decrees that in case one of the parties shall become involved in war, the Council shall declare, within four days after the Secretary shall have received due notification which countries are the victims of an aggression and have a right to call for the aid provided by the treaty, what assistance shall be rendered, and the contracting parties agree to abide by the decision rendered by the Council.

This projected treaty is based, in great



AN ITALIAN IDEA OF GREAT BRITAIN'S INTEREST IN PROMOTING A CONFERENCE FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

(JOHN BULL, standing in front of his immense fleet. "The armaments of these little people are beginning to be impressive")

From *Travaso* (Rome, Italy)

part, on the idea of a series of special treaties to assure a general guarantee. In the writer's opinion this is not in harmony with the fundamental characteristics of the League of Nations. Moreover, it hides no slight dangers for the maintenance of peace between the signatories. Certainly we cannot deny to the nations the power to conclude special treaties when they consider this to be necessary for safeguarding their own interests, but the conclusion of such special treaties constitutes a survival of the old system of alliances; in any case it belongs to the sphere of the sovereign privileges and responsibilities of the several states, while it does not pertain to the sphere of the League of Nations, which was endowed with the express character of universality—at least in conception. The conclusion of any alliance almost inevitably gives birth to an opposing alliance, and although stress may be laid on the purely peaceful intentions of the signatories, it is exceedingly difficult in practice to trace a line of demarcation between offensive and defensive alliances. The precise intention of the League was to do away with the old type of alliances, but the project of a treaty of mutual guarantees is essentially a reversion to it.

It is the writer's conviction that so long as the various European states continue to be suspicious of one another, the reduction of armaments must remain an unrealizable ideal. We must always repeat the affirmation of the self-evident truth that national disarmament presupposes moral disarmament. The problem of how to assure security, in the face of possible revenges, still dominates the European situation. But, if some states, especially preoccupied with the question of their territorial integrity, seek the solution of the problem in special treaties of guarantee, others believe that the League of Nations, as soon as it shall have been rendered virtually universal by the entry into it of powers which do not yet belong to it, will one day be able to offer, when the bitterest controversies shall have been settled, a system of general guarantees sufficiently ample for the maintenance of peace.

There can be no doubt that in creating the League of Nations, the signatories of the Treaty of Versailles did not intend to renounce their sovereign rights, or to constitute a kind of "super-state." This not only appears in the text of the League, but also from the way in which it has been interpreted by the various powers. This

being the case, it is obvious that the new authority which the projected agreement as to mutual guarantees attributes to the

Council, conflicts both with the system and the spirit of the League. The gravity of this change is not to be ignored.

## Italian Immigration

THE vexed question of the restriction of Italian as well as other immigration into the United States, is treated at some length in *Rivista Internazionale* (Rome) by Giuseppe Molteni, his aim being to give his readers as full information as he can on the prevailing policies as viewed from an Italian standpoint.

He recognizes that the question is about to enter its most critical phase and feels sure that during the coming six or seven years our Congress will suffer an acute attack of immigration fever. The "alien menace" has become a veritable incubus. Projects, amendments, and joint-resolutions have followed each other in a series, but no one ventures to propose an even modified return to the liberty that reigned before the war. After having successively proposed as a basis of computation the census of 1920, then that of 1910 or 1900, and calculating the total of admissions on a 5 per cent. ratio, and then lowering this to a 2 per cent. ratio, it is now proposed to go back to the census of 1890, when the nations now least favored by the United States were either not yet represented at all, or else only by a very limited number of individuals, and to fix for this restricted number, as well as for the relatively larger numbers of English, Irish and Germans, the low ratio of 2 per cent.

Nor are there lacking proposals of laws which are more preoccupied with questions of the quality of the immigrants than with those of their quantity. For example, some advocate that only qualified workmen shall be admitted, but all of those of whose ability the United States stands in need. And to keep Ellis Island free from overcrowding, the proposal has even been made to admit only those declared to be admissible by American functionaries established at the foreign port of embarkation. More radical, but also more sincere, are those who want to have all immigrants shut out entirely for an unlimited time or for two, four or five years.

The wide scope of this activity evidently betrays a great and notable social and

economic anxiety in all the guiding and influential classes of the United States; the desire to prevent undue foreign competition and a lowering of wages; the wish to cut off the stream of American gold that has been flowing to foreign lands in the form of remittances; the ambition to preserve the race and the civilization of the United States from dangerous contamination, and consequently to facilitate the entrance of immigrants from the North of Europe, regarded as belonging to races superior to those from Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. These are probably the chief factors. However, all the proposed bills have recently given place to the so-called Johnson-Lodge bill. Here the census of 1890 has been chosen as a standard, and a 2 per cent. quota selected. Still, not to exclude absolutely the nationalities who were not then represented in the United States, it is proposed to permit the admission of as many as 200 persons of each of these nationalities. Moreover, to favor the Americanization of the foreigners already resident here, it is proposed to admit an additional 2 per cent. from their nations, but only in the case of close relationship and in case the resident has been here two years and has taken out first papers.

The great absolute and relative reduction of the Italian quota of immigration that would result from this new bill is shown by the fact that the census of 1890 reports somewhat fewer than 200,000 here at that time. Therefore, the quota of permissible immigrants would be but 4000. The same is true of the quotas of other Southern European states. Greece falls from 3295 to 47, Rumania from 7419 to 638, Russia with Bessarabia from 24,405 to 1250, Turkey from 2388 to 129, Yugoslavia from 6426 to 851. In the meantime the Anglo-Irish quota remains about 150,000 and the German quota at about 63,000.

The writer feels forced to draw the conclusion that although the sky may seem to be clearing a little, the brilliant epoch of Italian emigration to the United States has passed away forever. However, Italians

can at least intensify the struggle against illiteracy, and in favor of superior civil and religious civilization, so as to develop more capable and intelligent workmen.

Italy's interest in the general subject of emigration is evidenced by the international congress which assembled at Rome in May.

## General Nivelle of Verdun Passes On

WHEN the triumphal procession passes up amid huzzas toward the Capitol, very few memories turn away to recall the conspicuously absent one, the fallen idol, whom all men had once expected to be a central figure in this very scene: the once-adored McClellan, or the Horatio Gates who, after Saratoga, had rashly aspired even to Washington's place—until he lost fame, almost his honor, at Camden. The writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of April 15th, Louis Madelin, was one of such a faithful few, even in November of 1918. Of Nivelle's recent funeral he writes:

The funeral car, bearing the general from the Temple de l'Etoile to the little cemetery at Passy, ascended the Avenue de la Grande Armée, along which, on an unforgettable day, Joffre, Foch, Pétain and a hundred generals had ridden at the head of their victorious soldiers, rounded the Triumphal Arch under which these great chiefs had passed amid a hurricane of enthusiasm,—and I noted that, for an instant, a fugitive ray of sunshine in the grey sky illuminated that monument of glory as the sad cortège went by. That is why I speak of a great melancholy beside our deep sorrow.

The rise of Nivelle was as brilliant and rapid as that of any of the French officers prominent in the World War. Entering the Alsatian campaign of 1914 as a colonel of artillery, he was mentioned by name in general orders in August, 1914, distinguished himself greatly in September, was promoted to brigadier general in October and to general of division next year. Transferred to the critical center of Verdun, he became there Pétain's assistant, then at Pétain's own desire his successor, and by December, 1916, was appointed to command all the forces of the North and Northeast, even England according him control over Haig's command. The popular conviction that a great aggressive movement could promptly decide the war had much to do with this preference of the younger and more dashing soldier over such rivals as Foch and Pétain himself. (He was already fifty-nine. Pétain at sixty, and Foch at sixty-five outranked him and were of some-



GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE, THE HERO OF VERDUN, WHO DIED RECENTLY

(General Nivelle visited the United States in 1920)

what less dashing types.) It may be compared to the sending of Gates, another such popular idol, to the South against Cornwallis by Congress, without even consulting Washington, who even then would have chosen Greene. The result, however, in the Nivelle case was not disaster, nor even defeat, but such a disappointing, moderate success as is almost as fatal to the people's idols. Arrogance, especially in the delicate relations with Haig, doubtless hastened his fall. The April of 1917, which saw our formal entry into the war, beheld the half-way failure of Nivelle's final general attack—and perhaps at the moment the disappointment outweighed the joyful anticipation of effective aid. A few weeks thereafter he was displaced. Such later laurels as he was to gather were won in Africa.



His eulogist's first impressions of him are interesting:

When in May 1, 1916 he came to take command of the army of Verdun, we knew him only by reputation. I had imagined a dare-devil, and one assigns a corresponding physique to the character as one conceives it. He was quite tall and strong-limbed, with broad shoulders and firm step, a fine soldier; but his regular, full and noble features indicated more reflection than audacity; his manner was modest, even a bit timid. His farewell to Pétain was uttered in somewhat heavy tone, with little vivacity of gesture, and his veiled blue eyes seemed wistful. I have seen lightning flash from them, with that furious waving of his right arm. . . . I always had the impression, however, that Nivelle

had a presentiment,—perhaps an unconscious one,—of a destiny fated to disaster! I often came into his presence when he was in the full tide of victory at Verdun,—and was struck with the recurrence upon his countenance of a cloud of melancholy. I rarely saw him smile, even at Victory when she drew nigh, or when Fortune for the moment she seemed to be throwing herself into his arms.

Though the details of Nivelle's campaigns are not easy to follow without a specialist's knowledge of the war in general, this article is a noble tribute from such a friend as should write an unfortunate friend's epitaph.

## The Fight Against Heroin

**I**F EFFORTS now well under way in this country and abroad should be crowned with success, the notorious habit-forming drug heroin will soon be banished completely from the world.

This derivative of morphine has been well known to the medical world since about 1898, and in recent years has been brought prominently to the attention of the general public. According to an article about it in *American Medicine* (New York City), the use of heroin has become more alarming than that of morphine, opium and cocaine. Dr. Carleton Simon, in charge of the Narcotic Division of the New York City Police Department, is quoted as stating that narcotic addicts who procure their drugs on the streets of New York use 76,000 ounces of heroin yearly, as compared with about 58 ounces legitimately prescribed by the entire medical profession of the State of New York. It is the favorite drug of the underworld. In New York City it is estimated that 98 per cent. of the criminal drug addicts use heroin. Worst of all, it is stated that:

The evil influences of the heroin habit are particularly spent upon the youth of the country. Approximately 70 per cent. of the New York City addicts were under thirty years of age, and a comparatively large proportion are boys and girls under the age of twenty years!

In the opinion of the majority of medical authorities the necessity of heroin as a medicine no longer exists, as all the useful qualities attributed to it are more successfully and less dangerously secured by means of other alkaloids of opium. At the seventy-first meeting of the American

Medical Association in 1920 the following resolution was adopted:

That heroin be eliminated from all medicinal preparations, and that it should not be administered, prescribed nor dispensed; and that the importation, manufacture and sale of heroin should be prohibited in the United States.

Equally significant is the fact that heroin is no longer issued for the use of the medical departments of the United States Army and the United States Navy, and that it has been banished from the hospitals of the United States Public Health Service. The order on this subject issued in 1916 by Surgeon-General Blue, of the Public Health Service, contains the following statement:

In view of the fact that the great increase in the use of heroin at present constitutes a considerable menace to public health in the United States, it is desired to set an example and to signalize to the general public the danger which may accrue from its use. Heroin as a palliative in certain respiratory affections serves no purpose which cannot be accomplished by other agents fully as effectively and without the attendant possibility of grave disaster.

The following important recommendation has been made to the Council of the League of Nations by the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium, the American members of which are Stephen G. Porter, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives; Bishop Charles Brent, president of the commission that drafted the Opium Convention of 1912; and Dr. Rupert Blue, Surgeon-General of the U. S. Public Health Service:

(a) To request each Government to appoint a committee of inquiry with a view to ascertaining

the possibility of completely abolishing the manufacture of heroin and its use; and

(b) In the event of the committees of inquiry deciding that the manufacture of heroin cannot be done away with entirely, to inquire into the possibility of its use being limited to certain types of cases, or any particular type of case.

*American Medicine* says further on this subject:

America is one of the four great countries in which heroin manufacture is extensively cultivated and it is for this reason that the United States should take the lead in abolishing heroin. To be successful, however, in curtailing the use of heroin, international coöperation is essential. To lessen smuggling by reducing the production of heroin is a far more effective way of controlling the evil than by the continuous efforts to apprehend those purveying the illegitimate supply of this dangerous drug.

It would seem to be part of the function of the medical profession to fight against habit-forming

drugs. If the organized medical societies were to make known their desire for controlling the heroin problem through the legitimate reduction of the available supply, possibly some means might be found for the United States to take the necessary leadership in this matter. Obviously, some great nation must lead the way in the future against heroin. International coöperation can be secured more readily for actual performance than for resolutions and projected plans. In order to effectively eliminate heroin addiction, the supply must be limited and the material for debauching the youth be reduced to the vanishing point.

A united medical profession demanding the abolition of the heroin traffic at its source would probably be as great a contribution to the public welfare as the discovery of some infectious agent that attacks the industrial youth of the country. The triumph of a newly found cure should be readily secured, inasmuch as, for this affliction at least, the etiology and pathology are well known. One cannot charge the medical profession with responsibility for heroin addicts, but one may properly urge upon it a responsibility for protecting the general public against the perils of heroin.

## A Cuban's Interpretation of American Patriotism

IT IS not often that we find an alien possessing clearer insight into things American than Americans themselves in general possess. Yet José Antonio Ramos writing in *Cuba Contemporánea* (Havana) for April, pays us a sincere tribute—especially welcome as coming from the pen of a Latin-American. The article well bears out the old saw about seeing ourselves as others see us, but the mirror which Señor Ramos holds up throws back a surprisingly pleasant reflection. His remarks are directed in particular to those of his consanguine kin who make extended visits in the United States, and they had been previously delivered in the form of an address before the Hispanic American Club of Philadelphia on the evening of March 20, last.

He points out in the first place the fundamental difference existing for many years between the European and American conception of patriotism and recalls the numerous and savage wars for which the European idea has been so largely responsible. Regarding this phase of the matter, he says:

The sublimated idea of "Patria," such as we know it, which has served as a pretext for the most tremendous of wars, is a thing relatively modern, although its old manifestation is not forgotten—its origin in all those hatreds of people for people, of

city for city, which in the United States have never existed.

What manner of thing is North America even after the triumph of the States of the North? The Federalist party, which founded the Union and disappeared, hardly dared to admit this idea (of patriotism) as something a little perilous, as something formal and anodyne. An "American" party, founded in 1856, lasted scarcely two years in relative importance. The conquerors of new lands—Jackson, Houston, Polk—were Southerners, men of the South, opposed to tariffs, to a central government, to economic imperialism, that is to say, in short, to all which later contributed to the greatness of the nation. In 1873 even William Seward spoke of the possibility of the incorporation of Mexico and Canada in the United States, and our patriots never knew for certain whether or not Cuba might not be attached to the great society of free States which was then the America of the North. It is necessary to come to Roosevelt to encounter an Americanism somewhat hermetical and "*à la Europa*."

But the blame is not alone theirs. Canada to the North and ourselves to the South have been responsible for numerous difficulties. The intellectuals imbued with the French Revolution and taking the rapid development of the United States as a direct and exclusive result of its emancipation and of its system of government, have always compromised with the most primitive military atavism. Each little General, sufficiently courageous to attempt adventure, has always found ready assistance at hand among us—intellectuals and poets of good faith, prophets of the new era, of Liberty and of the Fatherland, with capital letters on paper and with blood in battle. And in this state we continue—the aggressive, primitive instincts triumphant, intensely patriotic against everything foreign, but utilizing

always the example of the American Government for justification and unable to conceive more ample ideals, to acquire that "economic sense" now in full development in the North.

The writer finds himself bound to admit that the "band of aggregated stars" has been obliged to sanction acts of doubtful "Americanism" in Central America and the Antilles, and that there resound at Washington voices "which appear to be an echo of the German delirium before the war." But

... In the United States the generous, fundamental idea of the Union prevails. Then, behold our people, dispersed, tormented by bandits and militarists, who in augmenting their wealth never think of invigorating the economic vitality of the nation, but pilfer the public treasury and contract business in Wall Street.

Some ironical comment is made about the paradoxical attitude taken by his people toward the American promoter, who is denounced on the one hand by the patriots and welcomed on the other by the press and officialdom as the developer of untold wealth, the representative of progress, of work for all and of well-being in general. Regret is also expressed that the governments of Latin republics have not been as immune to the blandishments of "Big Business" as has been, generally speaking, the Government at Washington.

Señor Ramos asks why the influence and reaction of Latin-America upon the United States is so little considered, and warns his people that their failure to keep order at

home will only serve to embarrass those citizens of this country who do not look with favor upon a too liberal use of the "big stick" in the affairs of our neighbors to the South. In summing up his article he makes this forecast:

What matter its promoters; its money-bags without conscience; its mercenary politicians, who even sell their native soil to the traders; what matter its diplomatic notes, whose like we have ourselves invented when it suited personal or partisan ends; its lavish dress, its savage exhibitions of boxing; its cabarets, which were the privilege of our evil gentry of the Middle Ages; its "jazz," which is own brother to our very African *rumba*; its monotonous, erotic and sentimental films, which are our novels conveyed through a different medium; its industrial periodism and its clumsy literature—all of which are social phenomena relative to the density of the population, but which do not exclude, though they do not favor, intellectual and artistic production of the first class.

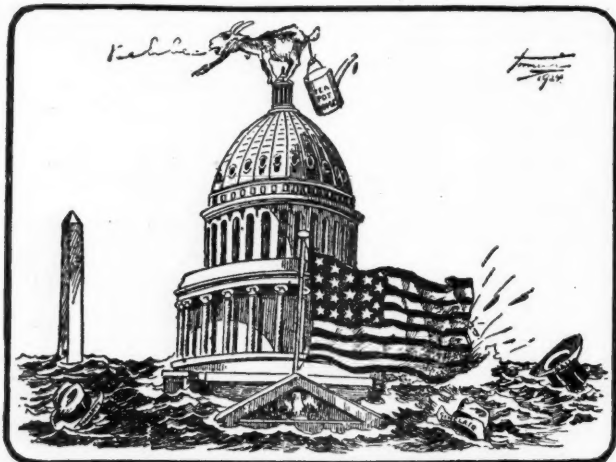
This Empire—if you wish to call it so—is something, is much more than all this which with infantile emotion we desperately imitate and hate at the same time. This Empire of the United States of North America is the most formidable proof of a free association of men, with the determination to wrest from Nature through work and study the benefits which our ancestors conceived as solely the product of slavery and conquest. This Empire is now in its beginnings and can do great things.

And he of our lands who comes here for something more than to pass "good times," to dance the fox trot, to dissipate his five senses in the movies, and to acquire the habit of speaking Castilian badly in order to speak English worse, or only to learn some useless way of gaining a living; he who lives here a while with his eyes open knows that these great things are being done now, slowly, but surely, and that, in what respects the future of Latin-America, our intelligent and honorable collaboration is bound to be precious.

The last pertains to the future, and it is impossible to divine it.

But it will have to be built up, if anything constructive is in truth going to be done, with mutual and intelligent friendship, not with suspicion or with hate.

The general tone of the article, notwithstanding its frank criticism of more superficial and less salutary phases of American life, is quite favorable to the United States. To the author the secret of our greatness seems our ability to have brought about the willing cooperation of diverse sections of the North American Continent.



THE OIL FLOOD AT WASHINGTON, AS VIEWED FROM CUBA

From *Política Cómica* (Havana, Cuba)

[The goat is the symbol of graft in Cuba]

## Hastening the Growth of Plants by Artificial Light

PROFESSOR HUGH FINDLAY, a distinguished member of the Department of Agriculture of Columbia University, has succeeded in giving a brilliant demonstration of the possibility of hastening the general development of certain plants and accelerating the appearance of the blossoms by means of exposure to electric light. The method pursued and the results obtained in a series of experiments conducted in April 1923, are set forth by M. Tevis in a recent number of the *St. Nicholas Magazine*, from which we quote:

In many cases seedlings have been made to sprout, develop and come to blossom under the influence of electric light, in half the time required for the same results by their sister plants, which depend only on old father Sun. Moreover, instead of being weakened by this astonishing rapidity of development, they frequently present twice the vigor of the control plants. There is, to be sure, increased expense of production due to the cost of the electric lights. This is negligible, however, in the case of certain high-priced plants and of those which possess a greatly enhanced value at certain seasons, as at Christmas and Easter. Now the florist can rush things along literally at lightning speed by means of the artificial sunshine derived from huge electric lamps.

Similar experiments were undertaken on Long Island by a firm of nurserymen and were also successful.

In these tests seedlings and older plants which had gone to sleep for the night were rudely awakened after a few hours by beams of light from huge electric bulbs directly overhead shining down upon them, like a noonday sun. For five hours the plants were subjected to this treatment and within a short time were so much bigger and more flourishing than the plants grown by sunlight alone that the latter looked quite stunted.

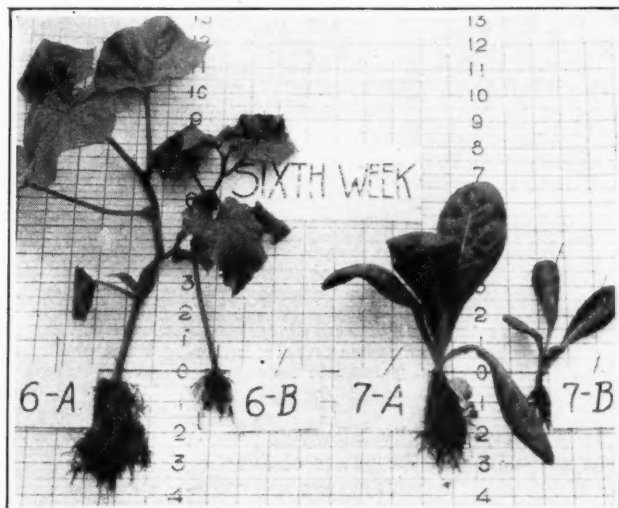
One important discovery made was that the plants must not be exposed continuously to the electric light. Like animals they require a certain amount of rest, but this amount is much less than has been thought. Different kinds of plants likewise differ

in their response, those most favorably affected being the ones which exhibit a large amount of leaf surface, whereas root crops such as beets and turnips were not helped.

The experiments were conducted partly under the auspices of the Westinghouse Electric Light Company, which furnished the lamps.

The battery of lights consisted of ten clear glass bulbs, each 500 watt and 110 volt. By an automatic device the lamps were turned on at 9 p. m. and shut off at 2 a. m. and this was continued for five weeks. Not only did the illuminated plants grow more rapidly but the flowering plants blossomed some eight days earlier than their neighbors.

The ten lamps were hung in a row, spaced with reflector edges, three inches apart. They had an adjustment range of 1 to 8 feet and were kept for four weeks at 36 inches above the surface of the bench, on which the boxes containing the plants were placed. This great battery of lights raised the temperature about 22° F. higher than the average range through the day in the greenhouse. This greater amount of heat might be disadvantageous in some cases—for instance, it might dry out the soil too rapidly. Professor Findlay states, however, that experiments are now being made with water-jackets around the globes, with the purpose of eliminating this excess heat. Both groups of plants were watered once a day except during the final week when the plants under the lamps were watered nine times.



THE EFFECT OF ARTIFICIAL LIGHT

(6-A, cucumber under sunlight and artificial light; 6-B, same under sunlight only; 7-A, lettuce under sunlight and artificial light; 7-B, lettuce under sunlight only)



## Light Cures, Tanned Skin, and Adrenalin

MUCH excellent work has been done in the last few years in the domain of light therapy, both direct sunlight and artificial light being employed. In the latter case the Danish physician R. L. Finsen was a pioneer, while in the use of sunshine for the treatment of tuberculosis, rickets and other affections certain Swiss physicians blazed the way. The newest developments of this sort of treatment are discussed in a recent number of *Die Umschau* (Frankfurt) by Dr. Stephan Rothman, one of the investigators, who says:

It was soon observed that sun baths influenced favorably not only the superficial foci of tuberculosis, but also those of deeper lying organs such as the larynx, the intestines, diaphragm, etc. At first this seemed incomprehensible, for it was known that the effective ultra-violet rays are absorbed in the outer layers of the skin and transformed into other forms of energy, particularly into none-effective heat. When a tuberculous hip joint, which in an adult is placed about 10 cm. below the surface of the skin, is healed by sunlight, this can not possibly be due to the direct action of the U. V. ray, since this does not reach the diseased joint. The healing must therefore be due to indirect action which is best explained by supposing that the rays absorbed by the skin produce metabolic transformations and that the products of these penetrate to the foci of disease.

Everyone is familiar with the most obvious of the metabolic changes occasioned by light, namely, the tanning of the skin, which is due to the fact that in the lowest layer of the epidermis where most of the U. V. rays are absorbed, a dark granular pigment is formed. This so-called pigment, however, has nothing to do with the pigment of the blood. It is formed in the cells of the skin itself by means of a characteristic activity of these.

This pigment appears to be of special significance in the curative effect of light since it is frequently observed that those invalids whose skin is capable of a deep tan are most favorably influenced. . . . Apparently the chief skin pigment is tyrosin. . . . In the changes undergone by the cell a large part of the tyrosin is broken down, while part of it is elaborated by the suprarenal glands into their specific product, adrenalin.

It is pretty generally known at present that adrenalin has the power of affecting the sympathetic nervous system and consequently the organs governed thereby—in other words, those organs which control the so-called vegetative functions. For exam-

ple, when the sympathetic nerve system is stimulated all of the blood vessels in the body undergo contraction, the beat of the heart is strengthened and accelerated, the pupils of the eyes are enlarged, and so forth.

The sympathetic system also exercises the important function of regulating various metabolic processes. For example, a certain amount of grape sugar circulates normally in the blood; when the sympathetic nerve system is stimulated the deposits of hydrocarbons, especially those of the liver are mobilized and an extra amount of sugar flows into the blood so that often this excess appears in the urine. If the sympathetic system on the other hand is depressed then the amount of sugar in the blood, which is ordinarily pretty constant, is diminished.

There is a very close connection between the influence of the sympathetic system upon the nerves controlling the vegetative functions and the formation of adrenalin. This is shown by the fact that an injection of the latter causes the same alterations in the organism as are produced by direct electrical stimulation of the sympathetic system—i. e., the blood vessels contract, blood pressure is increased and the amount of sugar in the blood is augmented. Vice versa, the production of adrenalin depends upon the proper functioning of the sympathetic system.

This deficiency of tyrosin, i. e., of the mother substance from which adrenalin is produced in all probability makes itself felt in the sympathetic nerve system. . . . These facts suggested that it might be valuable to investigate the condition of the sympathetic nervous system after exposure to strong illumination. The investigations in question were mostly carried out not with sunlight but with mercury lamps, which are extraordinarily rich in U. V. rays. It was definitely proved that the sympathetic nerve system is profoundly influenced by the effects of exposure to light and, furthermore, is influenced exactly as was to be expected by diminution in the amount of adrenalin. In other words, after exposure of the entire surface of the body to strong illumination it was found that the blood pressure was lower and the amount of sugar in the blood was decreased . . . with a corresponding increase of sugar tolerance.

We have mentioned that the excitation of the sympathetic nerve induces a contraction of the blood vessels, while a relaxed condition on the other hand causes these to expand, which allows of a more vigorous flow of blood. Obviously the tubercular organs are more sensitive to this effect than the sound ones. An extremely important factor in the curative effect must reside in this thorough flushing of the diseased organs with blood, provided of course that this is not excessive.



## The Gentle Gorilla

**I**T WAS the writer's privilege a day or two before these lines were written to hear an address given by Mr. Carl E. Akeley upon his travels in the gorilla country and to see the first motion pictures ever taken of the gorilla in his native jungle. It was easy to believe the lecturer's statement that these great beasts, in spite of their enormous size and ferocious aspect, are in reality gentle, amiable and harmless unless attacked. Their diet consists almost entirely of fruit and other forms of vegetable food.

In spite of the difference in size and in the proportions of the trunk and members the gorilla is more closely related to man than is any other animal. Like man he is even "cursed with a vermiform appendix." Like man he is a ground-walking animal though able to climb trees on special occasions when circumstances seem to demand it. It is pleasant to record that this strange and interesting animal seems now entirely safe from the threatened extinction. By special negotiations with the Belgian Government, Mr. Akeley succeeded in obtaining a decree making an absolutely closed season for the gorilla within this territory. This means not merely that no big-game sportsmen will be allowed to add one or more gorillas to their bags, but that even men of science are prohibited from killing one as a specimen. This of course adds to the value of the group now being prepared for the African hall in the American Museum of Natural History (New York City). But the great advantage of this decree resides in the fact that thus freed from molestation the gorilla will become absolutely fearless and tame within a few years, so that we may expect to obtain increasing knowledge of his ways from life-studies in the jungle made by men armed only with camera, pencil or brush and notebook.

Writing in *Natural History* (New York), Mr. Akeley says:

I saw no indication that the gorilla is in the least aggressive or that he would fight even on just provocation. I have trailed him through his jungles, come on him at very close quarters, and shot him without seeing the slightest intimation on his part of an intention to start a fight. The first gorilla that I ever saw alive was a lone old male, who might have been expected to show some war-like spirit if that had been a characteristic of his tribe. I saw his face—ugly and wrinkled, but mild and gentle—across the valley and caught a glimpse of his gray back as he went over a log and up the slope through



Photo by Elwin R. Sanborn

### A YOUNG GORILLA NOW IN AMERICA

dense vegetation. When I finally overtook him, I was first aware of his presence by his guttural bark. He was crouching motionless thirty feet away in the death-like silence of the sun-lit morning. There was no "devil's tattoo" of chest beating; no threat of a charge—although, had he been inclined to charge, he had merely to drop down on us. He barked four times. My shot cut his fourth bark short. So ended my first gorilla hunt. It had been a thrilling experience, but thrilling because of tradition rather than because of fact.

Those who have maligned the gorilla's good name have cited his "strange, discordant, half-human, devilish cry" and his beating of his chest "with his huge fists till it resounded like an immense bass drum," as his modes of offering defiance. In my opinion both of these habits have been misinterpreted. The only way I can describe the utterance of a gorilla is as a hoarse, guttural, prolonged bark.

In concluding his article, Mr. Akeley remarks:

After my first expedition into the gorilla country, I am more convinced than ever not only that the gorilla is one of the most fascinating and important objects of study in the realm of natural history, but also that his disposition is such as to permit the most intimate observation of his habits. A few days in the gorilla country and one instinctively falls into

the way of referring to this amiable giant as "he" in the human sense. A few weeks of casual acquaintance and one is fired with a desire to ferret out the answers to a hundred questions about this little-known relative of man—questions of increasing importance to scientists and physicians in their efforts to understand and aid man himself. Prob-

bly no other project of so moderate a size is likely to lead to such immediate and valuable scientific results as that which will make of the Kivu region a sanctuary, where the gorillas under the protection of man may grow more and more accustomed to human beings and where through a series of years they may be observed and studied.

## The Hand and Foot of the Chimpanzee



Photo by Elwin R. Sanborn

### HAND OF CHIMPANZEE

(Long thumb; short fingers)



### FOOT OF CHIMPANZEE

(Thumb-like big toe)

THE most modern view of authorities upon the Primates holds that the anthropoid apes are *not* to be regarded as ancestors of man but merely as collateral relatives. The fact remains that they come nearest to him in the biological scale. And closest of all are the gorilla and the chimpanzee.

Man's proudest claim to physiological superiority resides, of course, in his proportionately larger and far more richly convoluted brain together with the corresponding modifications of the skull. Next to this comes that marvellous servant of the brain, the human hand, to whose adaptability so much of man's advance in the practical arts and sciences must be ascribed. Thirdly, comes the adaptation of the foot, fitting it to support the owner in an erect position and enabling him to walk and run on two limbs instead of on four.

The interesting pictures shown above of the hand and foot of the chimpanzee indicate to what extent this adaptation has proceeded in these last two members. Apes and monkeys in general are four-handed animals and thus fitted for their usual life in swinging from bough to bough of the forest. The higher apes, however, more nearly

resemble man in these features and it is stated on competent authority that "the difference between the foot of one of the larger apes and that of man is merely one of degree, and is much less than that between the apes and the lowest representatives of the order.

We know too that the hand and foot are provided with nails which are flattened as in man instead of curved as is the case with the digits of the lower apes (except

in the case of the great toe-nail which is always flattened).

While the gorilla is considered the highest form of the anthropoids the chimpanzee is decidedly nearer to man in certain respects than the gorilla. Thus, the arms of the chimpanzee are relatively shorter than in the gorilla and when the animal is perfectly upright reach only a little below the knee. Again the chimpanzee's hands and feet are more long and slender than the gorilla's.

According to the "Royal Natural History," moreover:

As in man the middle finger is longer than either of the others; and although there is some degree of variation in the relative length of the thumb in different individuals, as a rule this digit reaches to the base of the first joint of the index finger.

A peculiar feature of the hair of the chimpanzee is that it slopes downwards on the upper arm while it slopes upwards on the forearm, quite as if the animal had on a pair of fur gloves. This peculiarity is accentuated by the fact that on the back of the wrist there is a sort of ornamental whorl of hair in which "the upper hairs turn upwards and backwards, the middle ones turn backwards, the lower ones backwards and downwards."

## News from Nature's World

### *Creatures That Carry Their Ears in Their Legs*

BY MEANS of certain entertaining experiments it has been proved that the ordinary field cricket literally carries its ears in its legs. In other words the auditory apparatus is located in the "tibia."

The chirp by means of which the male cricket signals to his expected mate is produced by the rubbing together of the wing covers. A German naturalist, Professor Regen, has studied this question extensively. In a square field twenty-four meters long he placed 1,600 female crickets, their nests being arranged in ten concentric circles around the center of the field. At this central point were placed a few males. Their chirping organs were partially removed in order to note how the females would behave in such cases. The females likewise were subjected to an operation. The organs of hearing in half the number were destroyed on one or on both sides while the other half of the insects remained normal. In a few of them Professor Regen removed the antennæ, since these are often the seat of sense organs in insects. A writer in *Die Umschau* (Frankfurt) thus describes the results of the experiment:

The nests of the males were surrounded with thirty-two traps in such a manner that every female would inevitably be caught before she could reach her hoped-for mate. Their strenuous endeavors to accomplish this were shown by the fact that numbers of them were caught three, four or five times. But this happened only when the females were in full possession of their organs of hearing with which to perceive the call of the male cricket.

... When the hearing organs are intact the female makes her way without mistake to the source of the call, even from a distance of ten metres, and even when her course lies through thick, high grass. They exhibit more difficulty when the organ of hearing is lacking on one side and are quite at a loss when it is missing on both sides. The loss of the antennæ, on the other hand, does not affect the actions of the female.

### *A Fish with Double-Action Eyes*

A highly remarkable and even spectacular adaptation to environment is that of the South American fish called the *Anableps tetraphthalmus*; the latter part of whose cognomen obviously means four-eyed. This name refers to the fact that the creature possesses a natural bifocal lens, or perhaps it would be more correct to say a pair of

double eyes, the upper half of each of which is adapted to air vision while the lower half is suited to water vision.

These fishes are found in the tropical parts of the American continent and are often found in great quantities in the pools left on the beach at low tide. When disturbed under such circumstances they flee back to their native haunts by leaps and bounds. In color they are greenish yellow with black stripes running lengthwise. An admirable description of them is found in a recent number of *La Nature* (Paris), from the pen of Dr. Marc Landolt, who has made a special study of the eye. He writes:

When the animal, according to its habit, swims along the surface of the water, only the upper half of its eyes emerges, the lower half remaining submerged. But if we examine one of these eyes more closely we find that behind the cornea, which is large and bulging, the pupil instead of being simple as in other animals is divided into two parts by a bridge crossing the iris at a level corresponding to that at which the fish floats, so that there are in reality two pupils, one aerial and the other submarine. It can be seen at a glance that the retina is oriented into different planes with respect to these two orifices; hence we may say that one and the same organ possesses two lenses and two sensitive plates, so to speak. The axes of the two systems are perpendicular to each other.

It is a well-known fact that the conditions of refraction of light vary according to the density of the medium through which it passes, hence the conditions of vision differ greatly in air and in water. This is why land animals have the crystalline lens flattened while it is nearly spherical in fishes; apropos of this when a tadpole changes into a frog the lens gradually grows flatter and flatter.

### *Deducing the Bird from the Feather*

Strange to say, the oldest bird known to have existed, the archæopteryx, is one of the latest to be discovered by man. It was not until 1861 that a palæontologist discovered the impression of a single feather in a bed of lithographic shale in Bavaria. Since this was found in the Lower Jurassic there was some doubt at first as to whether the impression really had been made by a feather, since up to that time it had not been known that birds existed at so remote a geologic period. However, in 1863 a large part of the skeleton was found and a

few years later an even more perfect skeleton. These three represent all that is known of that strange creature which forms the missing link between the birds and reptiles. It is one of the triumphs of science that with so little to go upon they have been able to practically reconstruct this animal, half lizard and half bird. It was about eighteen inches in length, possessed of a long tapering tail, containing twenty bones joined in the manner usual in the tails of snakes, but not found in modern birds. Each of these bones served as a point of support for two tail feathers.

The bird itself was about the size of a crow with short strong legs and feet armed with stout hooks, as in the case of the strange South American bird, the hoatzin, its closest living relative. It lived in trees, which abounded in that period, and these hooked claws were doubtless most useful in enabling it to clamber up them. Probably, its wings were not sufficiently developed to serve the purpose of flight very well. It had no beak, but its long sharp triangular jaws were armed with teeth to the very extremity. Of its food and general habits we know nothing, though of course there is always a possibility that some lucky stroke of a geologist's hammer may reveal further information as in the recent famous case of the Baluchitherium and the Dinosaur's eggs.

#### *How the Mineral Composition of Different Woods Affects Their Uses*

While the mineral constituents in trees form but a small percentage of their bulk, nevertheless they exert a marked influence upon the ligneous material of the tree—in other words, upon the wood. Moreover, this influence is closely related to the practical value of the wood for one or another use.

For example, the hardest woods, such as ebony, are comparatively rich in mineral ash. According to *La Vie Technique et Industrielle* (Paris), ebony contains 3.9 per cent. of ash and owes its sheen particularly to the crystals contained. Similarly crystals of silica are found in teak and to these are largely due the hardness of its wood and its durability.

The brier-wood, dear to all smokers, is used for pipes because of its non-inflamma-

ble character, which it owes to the high proportion of salicylates (1.81 per cent) contained in its fibres.

Other mineral substances contained in growing trees lend themselves directly to the decay of the tree, for the curious reason that they furnish a favorite food for those fungi which cause a rapid deterioration in timber which is felled while still in sap, and which is, therefore, rich in albuminoid substances and possesses a high content of water. It has been found that this fungus growth is most destructive when the sap wood contains considerable amounts of potash and of phosphoric acid.

#### *New Method of Testing the Food Needs of Soil*

Various means are employed to determine the amount and kind of fertilizer required to restore any given specimen of soil to productivity. Chemical analysis is one of these, but is not entirely satisfactory, particularly on a large scale. A new method which has the advantages of being both simple and inexpensive and which can be employed in the winter as well as in the summer has recently been worked out in Germany and is described by Dr. Neubauer in a recent report of the German Agricultural Society quoted in *Die Umschau* (Frankfurt). The method is based upon the absorption of nutriment by seedlings. One hundred grams of the soil to be tested were spread on top of 300 grams of sterilized quartz sand in a flat glass dish. After the addition of water 100 grains of rye were sowed thereon and allowed to grow from fourteen to eighteen days, after which the young plants were gathered roots and all and subjected to chemical analysis. In this manner parallel results were readily obtained as to the absorption of nutriment from the different specimens of soil, which varied in their content of phosphoric acid from 0 to 23 mg. and in that of potash from 5 to 100 mg.

It is stated that 100 grams of soil must yield to the young plants at least 8 mg. of phosphoric acid and 24 mg. of potash in order to be considered suitably fertile. This conclusion was arrived at by the investigation of a large number of specimens and was proved to be satisfactory by practical tests.

# THE NEW BOOKS

## Modern Economic Viewpoints

**Elements of Land Economics.** By Richard T. Ely and Edward W. Morehouse. Macmillan. 363 pp.

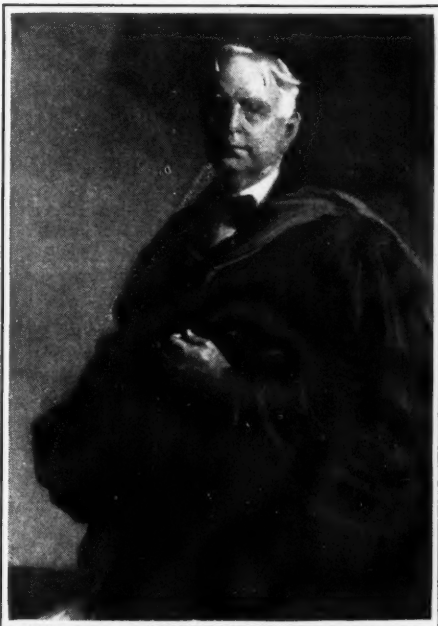
The Institute for Research in Land Economics and Public Utilities has adopted as its motto, "Under all, the land." The director of the Institute, Prof. Richard T. Ely, of the University of Wisconsin, has written as an introductory volume to the "Land Economics Series" this book treating of land as an economic factor. Besides providing a treatise on the economics of land, Professor Ely has had in mind in the preparation of this work the laying of a foundation for the treatment of land as a commodity. This is a novel attempt on the part of an economist of Dr. Ely's rank to promote what might be termed a system of real-estate education. But Dr. Ely has been engaged all his life in making economics "popular," in the true sense of the word, and in this new venture he merely continues his exposition of elementary principles into a field that has been more or less neglected by many scientific economists. In this introductory book he not only illuminates the whole subject of land economics, but illustrates its relation to the economics of labor, capital and management in the most significant and striking manner.

**Plain Talks on Economics.** By Fabian Franklin. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 353 pp.

In these discussions of everyday topics, which are familiar enough, but many of which are still in need of exposition, Dr. Franklin is traversing ground that he has crossed and recrossed many times in his writing for the press during the past forty years. In making the application of economic principles to the issues of to-day he is doing what every newspaper editor is frequently called upon to do, but he possesses in fuller measure than most newspaper writers the power of clear and accurate discussion of economic truths. The reader will find Dr. Franklin's treatment of economic themes untechnical, but in the main sound and sane.

**The Inter-Ally Debts—an Analysis of War and Post-War Public Finance, 1914-1923.** By Harvey E. Fisk. Bankers Trust Company. 367 pp.

The completion of this analysis of war and post-war debts must have been an arduous labor. In analyzing the accounts of about twenty nations the author used, wherever possible, their official statistical publications. All statements were, of course, expressed in national currencies—pounds, francs, lira, dollars, and so on. In order to make the figures



© From the painting by J. C. Johansen

**PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY, AUTHOR OF "ELEMENTS OF LAND ECONOMICS"**

(For more than forty years Dr. Ely has been one of the most distinguished American economists. He taught for twelve years at Johns Hopkins University, and since 1892 has held the chair of Political Economy at the University of Wisconsin. On the occasion of his seventieth birthday, in April last, the portrait which is reproduced above was unveiled at Madison)

comparable, it was decided that all should be stated in dollars, converting each foreign currency at the rate of exchange current before the war. But in view of the fact that prices in each country were inflated by war financing, it also seemed desirable to adjust the figures to the price level in 1913—that is, to put the statistics on a pre-war gold basis. The book gives full information regarding the cost of the world war, how this cost was met, and more especially about the debts that were contracted among the Allies themselves.

**Modern Foreign Exchange.** By Hubert C. Walter. Robert M. McBride & Co. 194 pp.

A description, from the English standpoint, of the present-day working of the exchanges. It gives a



full account of the mechanism of exchange-trading on the money market and explains such phenomena as the depreciation of the mark and its effects, variations in the dollar rate, inflation, international indebtedness, and stabilization. Bankers, exporters, and students of economics will find it useful and suggestive.

**Principles of Foreign Trade.** By C. E. Griffin. Macmillan. 348 pp.

An exposition of the economics of foreign trade, made not for the sake of the principles in themselves, but with a view to bring about their application in actual business relations and in governmental policy. The author's view is that "sound theory must be made up in view of the facts, and wise policy must be consistent with sound theory."

**Canada's Balance of International Indebtedness: 1900-1913.** By Jacob Viner. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 318 pp.

This study in the theory of international trade shows how large amounts of capital can be shifted from one country to another without disturbance. The year 1913 terminated a distinctive period in Canadian economic history, and the changes consequent upon Canada's participation in the war in the following year brought about an entirely different set of conditions. This essay was awarded the David A. Wells Prize for the year 1922-23.

**A History of Currency in the United States** (revised edition). By A. Barton Hepburn. Macmillan. 573 pp.

This is a revision of a standard work on American currency. The last preceding edition—that of 1915—brought the story of our national currency through the crisis of 1914 following the outbreak of the Great War. The present edition carries the story on almost to the time of the author's lamented death in 1922. It includes six additional chapters dealing with the war and post-war period, the establishment of the Federal Reserve System and the crisis of 1920. A preface by Mrs. Hepburn gives an interesting account of the author's relation to the Federal Reserve System.

**Railway Rates and Cost of Service.** By Owen Ely. Houghton Mifflin Company. 145 pp.

The author of this essay has found that wide variations exist between freight rates on different

railroads for the same commodity, or between rates on the same road for a different commodity, which are not explainable by differences in cost. The extent of these differences leads him to suggest possible steps to fundamental change in the rate system.

**Investment—a New Profession.** By Henry S. Sturgis. With a Foreword by Seymour L. Cromwell. Macmillan. 210 pp.

In this book Mr. Sturgis gives practical advice as to how the ordinary investor should go about investing his surplus, how he should choose his bond house, what general principles should be followed in selecting a list of securities and the cooperation necessary between the investor and his banker in order to obtain the best results. President Cromwell, of the New York Stock Exchange, writes a foreword.

**A Merchant's Horizon.** By A. Lincoln Filene. In Collaboration with Burton Kline. Houghton Mifflin Company. 265 pp.

Everyone is interested in what Mr. Filene, the Boston merchant, has to say about the relations of employer and employee in business life. He himself, his brother, and their father before them have been identified for many years with the effort to bring about business cooperation and democracy. Their Boston store has long been an object-lesson for the country. In this book he states conclusions derived from his own experience on such matters as profit-sharing, shop councils, pensions, welfare work, and vocational training.

**Labor Disputes and the President of the United States.** By Edward Berman. (Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law). Longmans, Green & Co. 284 pp.

Beginning with President Cleveland's action in relation to the Pullman Strike of 1894, our Presidents have been more or less active in connection with labor disputes, and have more than once been called upon to avert or put an end to strikes. In this monograph Dr. Berman describes these activities of the Presidents in detail, estimates their effectiveness, and finally suggests the program which he deems best suited to bring about a prompt and just dealing with the problems arising in nation-wide strikes.

## Society and Government

**Social Problems and Social Policy.** Edited, with an Introduction, by James Ford. Ginn and Company. 1027 pp.

A book of selections from authoritative writers who deal with the principles underlying treatment and prevention of poverty, defectiveness and criminality. The editor has sought to bring together, as he says, "the best of contemporary ethical theory and the best of contemporary practice." This is a useful service to the uninstructed reader who when left to himself finds many monographs

that are based upon intensive study of some specific theme, but few works which help him to understand just what is being done to realize social purpose through concrete programs. Dr. Ford has had this need of the reader especially in mind in the selection of material for this volume.

**Rural Social Problems.** By Charles Josiah Galpin. The Century Company. 286 pp.

It is interesting to note that the human element in farming and country life is no longer neglected by

the Department of Agriculture at Washington. Mr. Galpin, who is in charge of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, is the editor of "The Century Rural Life Books," of which the introductory volume was written by himself. Frankly an optimist on rural affairs, Mr. Galpin takes up the practical questions that are now confronting men and women on our farms and discusses them in the interest of the general reader. One may get from his little book a clear statement of what the farmers' problems of to-day are and what is being done to solve them.

**Human Relations: an Introduction to Sociology.** By Thomas Nixon Carver and Henry Bass Hall. D. C. Heath & Company. 302 pp.

The authors of this admirable little text-book should be commended for what they have left out as well as for what they have put in. Any attempt to treat the subject in great detail in an elementary work of this kind would doubtless have led to confusion. The treatment is simple, free from technicalities, and fitted to appeal to the interest and common-sense of the student.

**Prisons and Common Sense.** By Thomas Mott Osborne. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 105 pp.

This little book gives Mr. Osborne's matured views on prison reform, as developed after a lifetime of devotion to the cause, and at the same time tells the story of the Mutual Welfare League, its successes and its failures, at Auburn, Sing Sing and in the Naval Prison at Portsmouth. One finds here in a nutshell a clear statement of what Mr. Osborne believes and has actually accomplished by way of realizing his theories.

**The Policewoman—Her Service and Ideals.** By Mary E. Hamilton. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 200 pp.

Mrs. Hamilton was the first policewoman appointed on the New York City force. More than that, her interest and activity in the service, combined with a quick intelligence and resourcefulness, have made her perhaps the foremost authority on the subject of police work for women. In this book she makes no attempt to give an historical survey of women's pioneer efforts in police service, but merely gives an account of the work as she has experienced it, together with her own observations and views. Women who have thought of entering this field can do no better than to take Mrs. Hamilton's book as a guide, and the general public will find in it the best obtainable statement of what it is possible for women to accomplish in this new vocation for women, in the direction of police protection and crime prevention.

**Democracy and Leadership.** By Irving Babbitt. Houghton Mifflin Company. 349 pp.

Professor Babbitt is convinced that the trend of American democracy at the present time is against personal liberty. He believes that we have altogether failed to deal with the problem of leadership in any adequate way. This failure, he thinks, is due to defects in our education, where we have permitted utilitarian and sentimental tendencies to under-

mine ethical standards. In his final chapter he analyzes the sum of American achievement by both quantitative and qualitative tests.

**American Government and Politics.** By Charles A. Beard. Macmillan. 820 pp.

Although this is the fourth edition of a book which under the same title has been used in American colleges and universities for the past fourteen years, Dr. Beard has so thoroughly revised and recast it that to all intents and purposes it is virtually a new work. In revising the original text the author has subordinated the historical method of presentation. He has entirely re-written the introductory chapters, beginning with a discussion of the rôle of government in modern civilization, considering democracy in its relation to the organization of government, and analyzing the subject of administration in a great society. Thus the student's interest in practical politics and government is enlisted at the very first. In the remaining sections of the book historical treatment has been reduced and related more closely to current politics. At the same time the whole work has been brought fully up to date in the statement of facts, careful attention being given to developments in American politics since 1920, the date of the third edition. As now completed, "American Government and Politics" is much more than a student's handbook. It forms an excellent companion volume to Bryce's "American Commonwealth."

**Federal Centralization.** By Walter Thompson. Harcourt, Brace and Company. 399 pp.

Even among our well-informed citizens there are probably few who understand the importance of the recent rapid and vast expansion of Federal activities. Dr. Thompson, in considering this increased scope of Congressional legislation, analyzes the Constitutional provisions that have served as legal bases for it, then deals with the extent to which Congressional legislation has been carried in the fields of social and economic reform, and concludes with a study of the hazards and problems of Federal control.

**Readings in Municipal Government.** Edited by Chester C. Maxey. Doubleday, Page & Company. 627 pp.

In teaching municipal government in the colleges and universities reliance must largely be had on the source of material to be found embodied in charters, surveys, reports and various kinds of documents. It was to supply this kind of material in readily available form that Dr. Maxey prepared this book of readings. As thus made up, the book covers a wide range of information about American city government.

**An Outline of Municipal Government.** By Chester C. Maxey. Doubleday, Page & Company. 388 pp.

This book is the outgrowth of a syllabus prepared by Dr. Maxey for the use of his students at Western Reserve University. In the study of municipal government Dr. Maxey hopes that his book will perform somewhat the same function that a blueprint does in architectural practice. He outlines the general subject and gives useful references.

## Science Popularized

**Chats on Science.** By Edwin E. Slosson. The Century Company. 273 pp.

No one has succeeded so well as Dr. Slosson in "popularizing" modern science. His present book deals with all kinds of scientific facts in the most entertaining manner. Each brief section of the book is complete in itself, and the reader may select any one of these sections that happens to appeal to him without reference to the rest of the volume. But having made a beginning, he is likely to read more than one section before he lays the book down. As the publishers announce, this is a book to be read for entertainment—the profit will take care of itself.

**Atoms and Electrons.** By J. W. N. Sullivan. George H. Doran Company. 185 pp.

A few months ago we noticed in these pages a little book about atoms by Bertrand Russell. Since that notice was published there has appeared in the series known as Doran's Modern Reader's Bookshelf an excellent discussion of the same subject by J. W. N. Sullivan, the Scientific Editor of the *London Nation*. Mr. Sullivan puts into common language the modern scientific description of electrical energy.

**Fighting Foes Too Small to See.** By Joseph McFarland. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company. 309 pp. Ill.

A lucid study of micro-organisms and what they do, by the Professor of Pathology in the University of Pennsylvania.

**Popular Research Narratives.** Collected by the Engineering Foundation. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Company. 152 pp.

Fifty brief stories of actual research, invention or discovery, as told by the men who did the work. Director Flynn, of the Engineering Foundation, who was responsible for the collection, has seen to it that personality and human interest should be put into the sketches instead of being taken out as is so generally the practice in scientific publications.

**The Depths of the Universe.** By George Ellery Hale. Charles Scribner's Sons. 98 pp. Ill.

Discoveries at Mount Wilson Observatory have so greatly changed our ideas of the magnitude of the stellar system that new descriptions are needed for popular reading. Dr. Hale, of the Carnegie Institution at Washington, has succeeded better than any one else in presenting these discoveries to the public. In this little book are included his articles contributed to *Scribner's Magazine*, with a series of excellent illustrations.

**Romance in Science.** By Bessie Irving Miller. Boston: The Stratford Company. 87 pp.

The Professor of Mathematics in Rockford College has developed this series of lectures from occasional talks, discussions, questions and essays incidental to her college work.

**The Einstein Theory of Relativity.** By Garrett P. Serviss. Edwin Miles Padman, Inc. 96 pp. Ill.

An exposition designed to accompany the Einstein relativity film. The illustrations of the book are taken directly from that production.

**Daedalus, or Science and the Future.** By J. B. S. Haldane. E. P. Dutton & Company. 93 pp.

A brilliant essay which exalts the importance of the biologist in the science of today.

**Icarus, or The Future of Science.** By Bertrand Russell. E. P. Dutton & Company. 64 pp.

In this essay Mr. Russell points out certain possible dangers that may result from the exploitation of science by material forces at work in the world today. His forecast is decidedly gloomy.

**Foibles and Fallacies of Science.** By Daniel W. Hering. D. Van Nostrand Company. 294 pp. Ill.

A curious account of celebrated scientific vagaries, including the transmutation of metals, perpetual motion, divination, geographic mania and various hoaxes.

## Other Timely Books

**Mobilizing for Peace—Addresses Delivered at the Congress on America and the Permanent Court of International Justice.** Edited by Frederick Lynch. Fleming H. Revell Company. 324 pp.

This book is made up of a series of addresses on the ideals and measures of world peace delivered at the congress held at Philadelphia in November last under the auspices of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches. These are representative utterances by leaders of American thought. Although it is stated in Dr. Lynch's foreword that each address was written with entire independence of the others, they are all in essential harmony.

**Camping Out: a Manual on Organized Camping.** L. H. Weir, Editor. (The Playground and Recreation Association of America.) Macmillan. 636 pp. Ill.

Mr. Weir is Field Secretary of the Playground and Recreation Association of America and has embodied in this compact manual practically every kind of information especially needed by individuals and agencies conducting camps in this country. To obtain this material an intensive study of summer camps throughout the United States was made during the season of 1923. Experts write on the selection of the camp site, the plan of the camp, the equipment, sanitation, leadership, accounting.